# SUBURBAN CHINATOWNS IN CANADA

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Supervised Research Project



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ABSTRACT

Chinatown has been a symbol of the ethnic enclave since the 19th century in North America, traditionally located in the downtowns of cities across the United States and Canada. However, traditional Chinatowns are no longer the primary destination for Chinese immigrants; instead, there has been a boom of suburban Chinese settlements, suburban enclaves seen by some as the "Suburban Chinatown." Suburban Chinatowns play an essential role in Chinese immigration in North America today. From San Gabriel Valley in sunny Southern California to Flushing in the suburbs of New York City, from Richmond in British Columbia to the York Region of the Greater Toronto Area, suburban Chinese communities exist in almost every major metropolitan in North America. Some of the biggest suburban Chinatowns are found in Canada. Suburban Chinatowns in Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa are popular immigration destinations for Chinese. However, Chinatowns in the suburbs of these cities have been little studied. The lack of research on the suburban Chinatown in Canada, particularly in metropolitan areas other than Vancouver and Toronto, means a missed opportunity to reflect on the cultural and social influences of Chinese immigration in the Canadian context. This supervised research project (SRP) sought to fill this gap.

In this project, I address several questions to help understand the emergence of suburban Chinatowns in Canada today.

- what are the characteristics of a suburban Chinatown in Canada?
- where are suburban Chinatowns located in Canada?
- what are the suburban Chinatowns like?
- what are the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns on the local economy, culture, politics, and society?

The SRP answer these questions through a review of the literature (Chapter 2), demographic analysis (Chapter 4), and qualitative assessments of Chinatown's impacts on their locales (Chapter 5). In Chapter 2, I review the literature on the history of suburban Chinatowns in the United States and Canada to understand the formation of downtown Chinatowns and the emergence of suburban ones. The argument, in brief, is: Chinese immigrants faced discrimination and exclusion from the residents of European descents in the 19th century until the first half of the 20th century in the United States; such exclusion led to the formation of original Chinatowns in large U.S. metropolitan areas, so that the Chinese immigrants could have access to affordable housing, shops,

and other Chinese-ethnic services. Suburban Chinatowns began to blossom in the United States and Canada only once restrictions on people of Chinese descent reduced and new influxes of Chinese immigrants to North America occurred following the economic take-off of Asian countries in the late 20th century. Many scholars recognize San Gabriel Valley, California to be the first suburban Chinatown in North America, and treat it as a model of how suburban Chinatowns emerge, their characteristics, and their impacts on the local society, economy, and politics. In contrast to the history of U.S. Chinatowns, existing documentation of suburban Chinatowns in Canada is limited, especially for the suburban Chinatown in smaller metropolitan areas in Canada.

In Chapter 4, I present demographic data on the Chinese population in Canada to understand general growth trends and spatial characteristics. Key finding include: the Chinese population is growing quickly across the selected CMAs, especially in Montreal, Calgary, Ottawa, and Toronto (growth rates of the Chinese population above 50% between 2001 to 2016); the growth rate of the immigrants from Mainland China in the last 15 years outpaced that of Chinese from Hong Kong or Taiwan, particularly in Montreal and Calgary; as a result, in 2016, throughout Canada, more Chinese immigrants to Canada come from Mainland China than from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Moreover, the analysis reveals that the number of Mandarin speakers increased dramatically in the last 15 years in many CMAs. The spatial distribution of the Chinese population in Canada reveal concentrations in suburban areas of Edmonton (Wards 7 and 9), Calgary (Ward 4), Ottawa (Huntley Township), Toronto (the City of Markham), Montreal (the City of Brossard) and Vancouver (the City of Richmond). Two developments patterns are apparent in suburban Chinatowns. One is represented by CMAs like Toronto and Vancouver, which already had a large Chinese population before the 2000s; these CMAs experienced less land expansion in suburban Chinese communities but more intensification of these communities. The other development pattern includes CMAs such as Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa where the Chinese population is not as large as in Toronto or Vancouver; these cities have experienced wider suburbanization of the Chinese communities in terms of spreading further out in the suburbs, but little intensification in terms of the concentration of the Chinese population.

Finally, I analyze the social, cultural, economic and political impacts of the emergence of suburban Chinatowns in Chapter 5. I first compare the demographics and other key indicators of suburban

and downtown Chinatowns in each selected CMA to reveal, through comparative analysis, three development patterns. The first pattern is represented by the suburban Chinatowns in Vancouver and Toronto. These suburban Chinatowns are already well-developed and are more likely to cause the decline of the downtown Chinatown by competing over commercial and human resources; the second one is represented by the suburban Chinatowns in Calgary and Montreal, which are on the way to be well-established but are not developed enough to threaten the status of the downtown Chinatowns; and the last pattern in that of the suburban Chinatowns in Edmonton and Ottawa, which are just starting to develop wand where the downtown Chinatowns are still the heart of the local Chinese community. Other findings on the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns are identified. The suburban Chinatowns attract more Chinese immigrants compared to the downtown Chinatowns, which ultimately leads to the decline of the downtown Chinatowns in some CMAs. Issues such as racial segregation, racism, and discrimination are appearing. The "language barrier," Chinese-only signs and a large number of Chinese immigrants have caused outcries in the local community in these suburban Chinatowns. Suburban Chinatown has undoubtedly changed the political environment and legislation in some CMAs as well. These impacts are useful for planners to understand the future development of suburban Chinatowns.

ABSTRAIT

Le Quartier chinois ou encore *Chinatown* dans les pays anglophones, est un symbole de l'enclave ethnique du 19e siècle en Amérique du Nord, traditionnellement située au centre urbain des villes des États-Unis et du Canada. Cependant, les quartiers chinois traditionnels ne sont plus la destination principale des immigrants chinois; en revanche, il y a eu un boom de colonies chinoises suburbaines, des enclaves suburbaines considérées par certains comme le « Chinatown suburbain ». Les quartiers chinois suburbains jouent aujourd'hui un rôle essentiel dans l'immigration chinoise en Amérique du Nord. De la vallée de San Gabriel dans le sud ensoleillé de la Californie à Flushing dans la banlieue de New York, de Richmond en Colombie-Britannique à la région de York dans la région du Grand Toronto, des communautés chinoises de banlieue existent dans presque toutes les grandes métropoles nord-américaines. Certains des plus grands quartiers chinois de banlieue se trouvent au Canada. Les quartiers chinois des banlieues à Montréal, Calgary, Edmonton et Ottawa sont des destinations d'immigration populaires pour les Chinois. Cependant, les quartiers chinois dans les banlieues de ces villes ont été peu étudiés. Étant donné le manque de recherches sur les quartier chinois de banlieues au Canada, en particulier dans d'autre régions métropolitaines que celles de Vancouver et Toronto, c'est une occasion manquée pour réfléchir aux influences culturelles et sociales de l'immigration chinoise dans le contexte canadien. Ce projet de recherche supervisé (PRS) cherche ainsi à combler cette lacune.

Afin de comprendre l'émergence des quartiers chinois de banlieue au Canada aujourd'hui, ce projet vise à répondre aux questions suivantes :

• Quelles sont les caractéristiques d'un Chinatown de banlieue au Canada?

• Où se trouvent les quartiers chinois de banlieue au Canada?

• À quoi ressemblent les quartiers chinois de banlieue?

• Quels sont les impacts des quartiers chinois de banlieue sur l'économie, la culture, la politique et la société locales?

Le PRS répond à ces questions par une revue de la littérature (chapitre 2), une analyse démographique (chapitre 4) et des analyses qualitatives des impacts des Chinatowns sur leurs localités (chapitre 5). Le deuxième chapitre est consacré à la revue de la littérature à travers

laquelle j'explorerai l'histoire des quartiers chinois des banlieues aux États-Unis et au Canada afin de comprendre la formation des quartiers chinois au centre urbain et l'émergence de ceux-ci. En résumé, l'argument est le suivant: les immigrants chinois ont été victimes de discrimination et d'exclusion des résidents d'origine européennes entre le XIXe siècle et la première moitié du XXe siècle aux États-Unis; une telle exclusion a conduit à la création de Chinatowns dans les grandes régions métropolitaines américaines, de sorte que les immigrants chinois puissent avoir accès à des logements abordables, à des magasins et à d'autres services à caractère ethnique chinois. Les quartiers chinois de banlieue ont commencé à se développer aux États-Unis et au Canada à partir du moment où les restrictions imposées aux personnes d'ascendance chinoise ont été réduites et grâce au renouveau de l'immigration chinoise en Amérique du nord à la suite du développement économique des pays asiatiques à la fin du XXe siècle. De nombreux chercheurs ont reconnu que la vallée de San Gabriel, en Californie, était la première banlieue de Chinatown en Amérique du nord et la traitaient comme un modèle de l'émergence de Chinatown de banlieue, de leurs caractéristiques et de leurs impacts sur la société, l'économie et la politique locale. Contrairement à l'histoire des Chinatowns américains, la documentation existante sur les quartiers chinois des banlieues au Canada est limitée, en particulier pour les Chinatowns de banlieue situées dans les plus petites régions métropolitaines du Canada.

Le chapitre 4 présente des données démographiques sur la population chinoise au Canada dans le but de comprendre les tendances générales de la croissance et les caractéristiques spatiales. Parmi les principales constatations, on identifie les suivantes: la population chinoise augmente rapidement dans les régions métropolitaines de recensement (RMR) sélectionnées, en particulier à Montréal, Calgary, Ottawa et Toronto (taux de croissance de la population chinoise supérieurs à 50% entre 2001 et 2016); le taux de croissance des immigrants de la Chine continentale au cours des 15 dernières années a dépassé celui des Chinois de Hong Kong ou de Taiwan, en particulier ceux de Montréal et de Calgary. Par conséquent, en 2016, plus d'immigrants chinois au Canada viennent de la Chine continentale que de Hong Kong et de Taïwan. De plus, l'analyse révèle que le nombre de personnes parlant le mandarin a augmenté de manière importante au cours des 15 dernières années dans de nombreuses RMR. La distribution spatiale de la population chinoise au Canada révèle des concentrations dans les banlieues d'Edmonton (quartiers 7 et 9), de Calgary (quartier 4), d'Ottawa (canton de Huntley), de Toronto (la ville de Markham), de Montréal (la ville de Brossard), et de Vancouver (la ville de Richmond). Deux tendances de développement sont

apparentes dans les quartiers chinois en banlieue. L'une est représentée par des RMR comme Toronto et Vancouver, qui comptaient déjà une population chinoise importante avant les années 2000. Ces RMR ont connu une plus faible expansion de leur territoire, mais plutôt un augmentation de la concentration de la population chinoise dans leur Chinatown existant. L'autre modèle de développement inclut les RMR telles que Montréal, Calgary, Edmonton et Ottawa, où la population chinoise n'est pas aussi nombreuse qu'à Toronto ou à Vancouver. Ces villes ont connu une périurbanisation accrue des communautés chinoises en termes de propagation vers les banlieues, mais une faible intensification au niveau de la concentration de la population chinoise.

Le chapitre 5 analyse les impacts sociaux, culturels, économiques et politiques de l'émergence des quartiers chinois de banlieue. Ceci est réalisé tout d'abord en comparant les données démographiques et d'autres indicateurs clés des quartiers chinois de banlieue et du centre-ville de chaque RMR sélectionnée afin de révéler, par le biais d'une analyse comparative, trois modèles de développement. Le premier modèle est représenté par les quartiers chinois de banlieue de Vancouver et de Toronto. Ces quartiers chinois de banlieue sont déjà bien développés et risquent davantage de provoquer le déclin de Chinatown au centre-ville en faisant concurrence au point de vue de la population et des commerces. Le deuxième est représenté par les quartiers chinois de banlieue de Calgary et de Montréal, qui sont sur le point d'être bien établis mais qui ne sont pas suffisamment développés pour menacer le statut des quartiers chinois du centre-ville. Le dernier modèle se trouve dans les quartiers chinois de banlieue d'Edmonton et d'Ottawa qui commencent tout juste à se développer. Les quartiers chinois du centre-ville de ces derniers demeurent toujours au cœur de la communauté chinoise locale. D'autres conclusions sur les impacts des quartiers chinois de banlieue sont identifiées. Les quartiers chinois de banlieue attirent plus d'immigrants chinois que les quartiers chinois du centre-ville, ce qui entraîne finalement le déclin de ceux-ci dans certaines RMR. Des questions telles que la ségrégation raciale, le racisme et la discrimination apparaissent. La barrière linguistique, des panneaux exclusivement chinois et le grand nombre d'immigrants chinois ont provoqué de la tension dans la communauté locale de ces quartiers chinois en banlieue. Les banlieues Chinatowns ont sans aucun doute changées l'environnement politique et la législation de certaines RMR. Ces impacts sont utiles aux planificateurs pour comprendre le développement futur des quartiers chinois en banlieue.

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**1.0 Introduction**

Chinatown has been a symbol of the ethnic enclave since the 19th century in North America. Across cities in the United States and Canada, the traditional Chinatown usually is located in downtown. However, with globalization and the rise of the economy in Asia in the recent decades, the spatial immigration pattern has changed in the United States and Canada; traditional Chinatowns are no longer the primary destination for Chinese immigrants. The boom of suburban Chinese settlements has caught the attention of scholars in North America; some have referred to these new suburban Chinese enclaves as "Suburban Chinatown."

Suburban Chinatowns play an essential role in Chinese immigration in North America. There are numerous suburban Chinatowns across Canada and the United States. From San Gabriel Valley in sunny Southern California to Flushing in the suburbs of New York City, from Richmond in British Columbia to the York Region of the Greater Toronto Area, suburban Chinese communities exist in almost every major metropolitan in North America.

Researchers have shown considerable interest in suburban Chinatowns in the US. However, some of the biggest suburban Chinatowns are found in Canada, and they have not received the same amount of attention. The lack of research on the suburban Chinatown in Canada misses the opportunity to reflect on the cultural and social influences of Chinese immigration in the Canadian context, which is different from the American context.

Additionally, most research on suburban Chinatowns in Canada focuses on the Vancouver and Toronto metropolitan areas whereas Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa get little attention. Unlike the well-established suburban Chinatowns in Vancouver or Toronto, the suburban Chinatowns in the other major metropolitan areas in Canada were established fairly recently, a result of the increasing number of Chinese immigrants in the recent decade (Statistics Canada, 2016). It is important to study and understand suburban Chinatowns in Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa because they are becoming the popular immigration destinations for the Chinese however studies on suburban Chinatowns in these metropolitan areas are lacking. This research project sought to fill this gap.

In this project, I address several questions to help understand the emergence of suburban Chinatowns in Canada today. First, what is a suburban Chinatown? How is understood and

classified? Second, where are suburban Chinatowns located in Canada? Third, what are the suburban Chinatowns like? Fourth, what are the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns on the local economy, culture, politics, and society?

In order to answer these questions, different analyses are conducted in the following chapters. In Chapter 2, I review the literature on the history of suburban Chinatowns in the United States and well as in Canada to understand the formation of downtown Chinatowns and the emergence of suburban ones. Chapter 3 briefly describes the methodology employed for supervised this research project. In Chapter 4, I present demographic data on the Chinese population in Canada to understand general growth trends. Chapter 4 also includes a series of spatial analysis to analyze where the Chinese population is located in Canada, and the identify where the suburban Chinatowns are. I also compare the demographics and other key indicators of characteristics between the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in each selected census metropolitan area (CMA) in Chapter 4. Finally, I analyze the social, cultural, economic and political impacts of the emergence of suburban Chinatowns in Chapter 5. In this chapter, the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns are identified. I first compare suburban and the downtown Chinatown in each selected CMA based on demographic and other key indicators. I then draw on the latest news articles to explore implications of suburban Chinatowns for the vitality of the downtown Chinatowns in some CMAs. Issues such as racial segregation, racism, and discrimination are addressed. as are emerging changes to the political and regulatory environment in some CMAs. The discussion concludes with reflections on planning implications of new trends, including recommendations for planners engaged with the future development of suburban Chinatowns. The conclusion, chapter 6, summarises the main findings and implications of the research.

**2.0 Literature Review: the rise of the Suburban Chinatown in Canada**

In this chapter, I will conduct a literature review focusing on understanding the definition and the characteristics of the "Suburban Chinatown", exploring the history of the emergence of the "Suburban Chinatown", and identifying the impacts of the "Suburban Chinatown" to the local economy, culture, society, and politics in North America.

This chapter, first, examines the formation of the downtown Chinatowns in North America. As detailed below, in the United States, downtown Chinatowns were formed when the Chinese immigrants faced discrimination, as well as a formal exclusion under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, from the residents of European descents in the 19th century until the first half of the 20th century. The formation of the original Chinatown in big metropolitan areas in the U.S. so that the Chinese immigrants could have access to affordable housing, shops, and other Chinese-ethnic services under such social and racial segregation.

An influx of Chinese immigrants to North America in the last thirty years had led to the emergence of suburban Chinatowns in North America. San Gabriel Valley, California is suggested to be the first suburban Chinatown in North America by many scholars. The studies of San Gabriel Valley have provided scholars with a valuable development model of suburban Chinatown and generated research material examining the political, social, cultural, and economic impacts of the suburban Chinatown.

This chapter also includes a short literature review of suburban Chinatown in Canada. The existing literature of suburban Chinatown in Canada is still limited compared to that in the American context, especially for the suburban Chinatown in smaller metropolitan areas in Canada. Although Canada has some of the largest suburban Chinatowns in North America, and the growth of the Chinese population in many metropolitan areas in Canada is considerable, there is a lack of literature on suburban Chinatowns in Canada.

**2.1 Downtown Chinatown:**

Chinese immigrants have settled in the west coast of the United States since the mid-nineteenth century (Li, 2005, p. 31). They were met with social discrimination towards and efforts to enforce segregation of Chinese immigrants in the 19th and first half of the 20th century. Since the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Chinese immigrants faced discrimination and exclusion, including from

employment, housing, education, and other social services, until the mid-20th century when the Act was abolished. Under this social exclusion from the white-dominant society, the Chinese changed their settlement strategies to adapt to the circumstances (p. 31). The Chinese left the small towns and rural areas and established clustered settlements in large cities; Anglo Americans referred the clustered settlements as "Chinatowns." Chinatowns, therefore, became the "haven" for new immigrants where employment, housing and places to practice Chinese culture are provided (p. 31). Li (2005) points out that the Chinatowns were stigmatized as ethnic ghettos where crimes such as prostitution, drug-dealing, gambling, and gangs take place by the mainstream society (p. 31). Luk (2005) also suggests that traditional Chinatowns usually carry images of physical decay and social vices (p. 1). Even today, many downtown Chinatowns are seen as ethnic ghettos because of the presence of a significant low-income population, and old, shabby buildings.

**2.2 The emergence of Suburban Chinatowns:**

Downtown Chinatowns continued serving as the main "ports of entry" for new Chinese immigrants into the 1960s. Li (2005) states that the distribution of the Asian population in the United States changed with the implementation of the Immigration Act of 1965. By 2000, the majority of the Asian population lived in the suburbs of large metropolitan areas (p. 32). Li argues that the emergence of suburban Chinese settlement, or the geographical shift in Chinese immigration patterns, has been influenced by American immigration, housing, and social policies (p. 32). The United States prohibited Chinese immigration from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. After World War II, the prohibition on Chinese immigration loosened and Chinese families were allowed to migrate to the United States. However, they remained segregated; housing policies, practices, and financing in the United States functioned to limit social integration. Li (2005) states that before the mid-20th century, the Chinese immigrants were forced by the mainstream society to retreat to the inner-city Chinatowns despite the massive suburbanization that happened after the WWII in the United States. It was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 that protect the minority population who intend to purchase or rent houses and apartments from the seller or landlord discrimination (p. 32-33). The changes in immigration and housing policies in the United States have encouraged social integration among different races; it is possible for Chinese Americans or new Chinese immigrants to move to the suburbs instead of staying in downtown Chinatowns.

With the boom of suburban Chinese settlements, the media started to label them as "Suburban Chinatown" indicating the similarity between the suburban Chinese enclaves and the downtown Chinatowns. However, Li (2005) suggests that simply labeling suburban Chinese settlements as "Suburban Chinatown" is problematic since their dynamics, community and economic structures, demographics and other characteristics of the neighborhoods are different from traditional downtown Chinatowns. Laguerre (2006) suggests that various scholars have referred the suburban Chinese settlements by various names based on their different characteristics. "Suburban Chinatown" is used to indicate the geographical location of the enclaves, which suggests the suburban Chinese enclaves are somewhat related to the downtown counterpart but in a suburban context; "Satellite Chinatown" shows an asymmetrical link to the old Chinatown; "uptown Chinatown" suggests that the residents are mainly the middle class; "Ethnoburb" refers the suburban Chinese neighborhoods as the ethnic suburban enclaves; "Mandarin Park" is a name given by Anglo-Americans who dislike the fact that their neighborhood has been taken over by new Chinese immigrants; "Chinese Beverley Hills" refers to the concentration of wealthy Chinese residents (p.41). Although Chinese is the majority group in the suburban Chinese enclaves, the demographic diversity and the desire to avoid the association of the ethnic ghetto in downtown have made some residents unhappy with people referring their neighborhood as "Chinatown" (Li, 1998; Laguerre, 2006; Luk, 2005).

Multiple scholars point out that as a result of increasing globalization and the rise of economic powers in East Asia, Chinese immigration patterns have changed in the recent decades (Luk, 2005; Li, 2005; Laguerre, 2006; Lin and Robinson, 2005). Globalization has influenced business, investments, and employment in the West Coast of the United States where the primary economic sector shifted from manufacturing to high-technology and financial based services. This trend leads to the polarization of employment which requires both high-skilled and low-skilled workers (Li, 2005; Sassen, 2001). Following this trend, besides the traditional low-skilled labor workers, many Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and China are well educated, professionally trained, and wealthy. Global cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York are the favorite destinations for these new Chinese immigrants to establish international businesses and personal networks (Li, 2005). Because the rapid suburbanization which occurred after the World War II leads to the suburbanization of employment, many of the wealthy Chinese

immigrants chose to locate their businesses and residences in the suburbs (Li, 2005; Laguerre, 2006; Luk, 2005).

In the context of the emergence of suburban Chinese settlements in recent decades, one particular location stands out – San Gabriel Valley, California. Many scholars (Li, 1997; Horton, 1996; Li, 1998; Lin and Robinson, 2005) have focused on the analysis of the emergence of the first and the largest suburban Chinatown in the United States.

**2.3 The First Suburban Chinatown – San Gabriel Valley:**

San Gabriel Valley, California is referred by multiple scholars as "the first suburban Chinatown" in the United States. The development of San Gabriel Valley provides a growth model for the future suburban Chinatown as well as the origin for the academics to study where and how the suburban Chinese enclaves emerge in North America.

The scholars have conducted different studies on the suburban Chinatown in San Gabriel Valley, California from different perspectives. Horton (1996) decides to focus on the political aspect of the suburban Chinatown; Li (1997) and Lin and Robinson (2005) focus on the social and demographic changes in San Gabriel Valley; while Li (1998) analyzes the demographic, social and political impacts of the "ethnoburb" in the San Gabriel Valley.

Li (1998) suggests referring to the suburban ethnic enclaves as "Ethnoburb." To examine the new suburban Chinese enclave model, Li (1998) chooses San Gabriel Valley as the case study. Li (1997) conducts a series of statistical analysis on the census demographics data including age, country of origin, employment, education, and Income. Li (1998) includes a more detailed statistical analysis of demographics; in addition to the categories mentioned before, housing types, and specific occupations are included in the study. Lin and Robinson (2005) conduct a similar statistical analysis on San Gabriel Valley's Chinese settlements. The statistical analysis shows several differences between the downtown Chinatown in Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley. Although the suburban Chinese enclaves in San Gabriel Valley consists of sizeable Chinese population (36%), the diversity of different ethnicities is also notable while the downtown Chinatown is mainly Chinese with much less ethnicity diversity (60%) (Li, 1997); other studies have also highlighted the ethnicity diversity in the suburban Chinese enclaves (Li, 1998; Laguerre 2006; Lin and Robinson, 2005).

Regarding age, the downtown Chinatown is an aging community while the average age of the suburban Chinatown in San Gabriel Valley is four years younger. The downtown Chinatown is considered as an ethnic island where almost 45% of the residents do not speak English while 64% of residents in the suburban Chinatown can speak English. The downtown Chinatown is poorer compared to the suburban Chinatown. A clear difference in occupations shows that in the downtown Chinatown, the percentage of service jobs, retail, and manufacturing are higher than that in the suburban Chinatown; while there are more professional jobs in the suburban Chinatown. Li (1997) also highlights that many downtown Chinatown business owners live in the suburban Chinatown.

Horton (1996) analyzes the suburban Chinese settlements in San Gabriel Valley from a political perspective instead of examining the demographic data. Horton (1996) notes that with the rise of Chinese immigrants in San Gabriel Valley, some resistance appears to come from the old Anglo-Americans. The major issues include the declining white population, economic powers, change of language and culture, competition for employment and political resources. Horton chooses to use a case of how the residents in the neighborhood battled for the illegalization of card clubs and gambling between different ethnicities. Horton argues that in San Gabriel Valley, nativism and ethnic conflict were not caused by the rise of Asian political and economic power. Instead, a level of democracy based on ethnic and cultural diversity can be achieved at the grass root. The political analysis in San Gabriel Valley shows how political diversity can be accomplished in a suburban ethnic enclave that the Chinese population is the dominant ethnicity.

The studies of San Gabriel Valley suggest that the suburban Chinatown is not just dominated by the Chinese population. Instead, multi-cultural communities tend to appear in the suburban Chinatown compared to the downtown counterpart which is primarily occupied by the Chinese population. Furthermore, compared to the downtown Chinatown, the suburban Chinatown tends to have a younger population with higher numbers of young families as well as new immigrants, and a wealthier population with a higher percentage of the Chinese residents speaking English. Additionally, the case of San Gabriel Valley suggests that political diversity can be accomplished in a suburban Chinese-dominated ethnic enclave through the formation of interethnic alliances that included immigrants.

**2.4 Studies in the Canadian Context:**

Although many studies related to suburban Chinatowns focus on the American context, a few studies have been done in Canadian cities. Chan (2012) has provided a brief analysis of the emergence of suburban Chinatown in Toronto. In this study, Chan suggests that the first suburban Chinatown emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Toronto CMA. North York was the first ethnoburb to reach the status of having 10 percent of the Chinese population. While other suburban Chinatowns such as Scarborough, Mississauga, and then the fast-growing Richmond Hill and Markham. Luk and Phan (2005) do not focus on the emergence of the suburban Chinatown in Toronto. Instead, they choose to analyze how the downtown Chinatown is changing with Vietnamese businesses taking over the neighborhood.

There is limited research on Suburban Chinatowns in Canada. The focus of analysis is in the three largest cities – Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Toronto is the city that has the largest Chinese population in Canada and has accordingly received the most research attention. Fong et al. (2012), Balakrishnan et al. (2005), Hou (2006), Gyimah et al. (2006), Chan (2012), and Luk and Phan (2005) all chose to analyse the Chinese enclaves or the social issues around the Chinese community in the Toronto metropolitan area. These scholars suggest Markham, Richmond Hill, and Vaughn as the representative "Suburban Chinatowns" in the Greater Toronto Area, with a significant number of the Chinese population. The scholars also indicate that these suburban Chinatowns are well developed with businesses and services targeted to the Chinese population. Additionally, social and cultural issues such as the newcomers have language barriers for not English or them are not willing to interact with people from outside the Chinese community. Pottie-Sherman and Hiebert (2015) discuss the formation of the new Chinatown in Richmond, Vancouver through the new night market's emergence. Hsu (2014) describes the history of the downtown Chinatown as well as the emergence of the Suburban Chinatown in Montreal. Overall the lack of literature on suburban Chinatown in Vancouver and Montreal leaves space for interesting analyses on the subject for this paper.

**2.5 Conclusion:**

In conclusion, suburban Chinatown is a phenomenon that started in the 1960s in the United States. The forces behind the emergence of suburban Chinatown can be classified into three factors: political, economic and social. The relaxation of immigration and housing policies after World

War II encouraged more Chinese immigration from Asia as well as the suburbanization of Chinese immigrants in the United States. The rise of globalization and the economic boom in East Asia increased the need of international businesses and professional and low-skilled workers in the ethnic suburbs. Finally, the shift of employment and housing from the downtown Chinatowns to the suburbs attracted more residents along with more services associated with the Chinese population in the suburban Chinatowns. Suburban Chinatowns have overtaken their downtown counterparts as the main "port of entry" for new Chinese immigrants.

At the same time, the literature on suburban Chinatowns has two important deficits. First, there has been little research in recent years; the most recent study was done in 2006 while most of the studies were conducted in the 1990s. Additionally, many studies on suburban Chinatowns are published by a few scholars (e.g., Li and Luk). The lack of updates on statistical analysis is another issue on the subject which most of the data were from more than a decade ago. These issues show that it is essential to do a study on suburban Chinatowns using recent census data and to update the analysis in the current political context in Canada.

**3.0 Methodology**

This SRP relies on the following methodology. First, a demographic portrait of Chinese settlement is developed, using statistical analysis based on census data. The analysis focuses on the general demographic trends of the Chinese population in Canada's largest six CMAs – Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa – from 2001 to 2016. The data for the statistical analysis are from the Canadian Census 2001, 2006, and 2016. According to Statistics Canada (2015), the census data of the National Household Survey conducted in 2011 is not reliable due to the change in the data collection method. The 2011 National Household Survey achieved a collection response rate of 68.6% and a weighted response rate of 77.2%, significantly lower than the 2006 Census long form that achieved a response rate of 93.8%. Therefore, the census data of 2011 is excluded in the analysis in this project.

Second, after the analysis of the general trends, a series of spatial analysis is performed in order to identify where the suburban Chinatown is in each CMA. For each CMA, a map showing the change in the Chinese population is produced using ArcMap. For the visualization of the Chinese population, CMAs are broken down into dissemination areas. A dissemination area is a unit classified by Statistics Canada; the unit is smaller than the census tract which is more commonly used in spatial analysis. According to Statistics Canada (2016), a census tract usually has a population range between 2,500 to 10,000 persons while a dissemination area usually has a population of 400 to 700 persons. Census tracts are more commonly used for urban analysis because they are large enough to have minimal issues of statistical error and yet are small enough to approximate the neighborhood scale. The rationale for using dissemination areas instead of the census tract in this study is that, due to the small size of downtown Chinatowns, they tend to be integrated into a census tract with other nearby neighborhoods; this will distort the accuracy of the demographic data. Therefore, using dissemination areas allows me to capture the actual demographics in downtown Chinatowns as well as suburban Chinatowns.

Third, I conduct an extensive series of comparisons of demographic, immigration and employment information between suburban and downtown Chinatowns in each CMA. This section is intended to address the differences between the two types of Chinatown in each CMA and to discover the development patterns of Chinatowns inside each CMA and across different CMAs. Last, after the quantitative analysis, there is a series of analysis on the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns in

Canada. The analysis is in two categories, cultural and social impacts and economic and political impacts. The sources of information for the analysis come mainly from newspaper articles and some academic journal articles;  news articles provide the latest and most updated information while the available information in the academic journal articles tends to be a bit dated.

**4.0 Demographic and Spatial Analysis**

In this chapter, the statistical analysis of the demographics related to the Chinese community in Canada is performed; and a series of spatial analysis of the suburban Chinatown is presented. Section 4.1 examines the overall numbers of Chinese immigrants, place of origin, and language is spoken. Section 4.2. located immigrants spatially. Section 4.3. contrasts downtown and suburban concentrations of Chinese in six Canadian metropolitan areas.

**4.1 General Trend of Chinese Population in Canada**

In this section, I analyze the general demographic trends of the Chinese population in Canada. Three indicators – the number of the overall Chinese population, the number of the Chinese immigrants from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and the number of the population who speak the Chinese languages (Mandarin and Cantonese) – are tracked. The rationale for choosing these three categories is that they reflect the demographic changes of the Chinese population in Canada. The total Chinese population reflects the significance of the Chinese community in each CMA; the number of Chinese immigrants indicates the Chinese immigration trends in each CMA since 2001, and the population who speak Cantonese or Mandarin reflects the cultural changes in the local society as well as inside the Chinese community in each CMA. The analysis will reveal the linguistically or cultural, demographical and immigration trends in Canada's Chinese community.

4.1.1 Chinese Population

In order to explore the emergence of suburban Chinatowns in Canada, it is essential to understand how the demographics of the Chinese population have changed in the last two decades. According to the Canadian Census 2016, the overall Chinese population in 2001 is 1,026,225, which accounts for around 3.4% of the population of Canada. While the total Chinese population in Canada is 1,576,835 which accounts for approximately 4.6% of the population of Canada in 2016. The Chinese population is also the second largest minority group after the South Asian population (5.6% of the Canadian population in 2016).

Six metropolitan areas are examined. The selected metropolitan areas or CMA (Census Metropolitan Areas) are the six most populated ones in Canada and are collectively home to over 88% of the Chinese population in the country: Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa (see figure 1). As shown in figure 1, Toronto and Vancouver were the metropolitan areas with the largest Chinese population in Canada, with almost 40% and 30% respectively of the total Chinese population in 2016. The rest of the four metropolitan areas have a much smaller Chinese population; Calgary and Montreal each have roughly 6% of the total Chinese population, Edmonton has about 4%, and Ottawa has only 2%. This indicates an uneven distribution of the Chinese population in Canada, clustered in two metropolitan areas – Toronto and Vancouver. Although this is only based on the census data from 2016, the uneven distribution of the Chinese population has existed for decades. Table 1 demonstrates the size of the Chinese population in each selected CMA in 2001, 2006, and 2016. Toronto and Vancouver have a large number of the Chinese population by significant margins with the other four CMAs. Note that the 2011 census data has been excluded from the analysis as, according to Statistics Canada (2015), it is not reliable due to a change in the data collection method.

Considering that the selected CMAs have different sizes of population, the total of Chinese people in each CMA might not reflect the significance of the Chinese community locally. Thus, the percentage of the Chinese population in the six CMAs are shown in table 1. Because Toronto and Vancouver have a significant size of the Chinese population, the percentage of Chinese people is also high in these two CMAs. As traditionally known for its high concentration of the Chinese population, the percentage of the Chinese population in Vancouver already reaches 17% in 2001 while the other CMAs are all below 10%. All CMAs experienced a noticeable increase in the Chinese population from 2001 to 2016. The percentage of the Chinese population in Toronto is 8.7% in 2001, and it increased to 10.8% in 2016 which makes Toronto the second CMA to have more than 10% of the population is Chinese ethnicity after Vancouver. Although Calgary has approximately the same number of the Chinese population as Montreal has, the Chinese population accounts for more than 5% of its total population since 2001, while in Montreal, the Chinese population only makes up around 2% of its population.

Table 1 shows the growth rates in the six CMAs in the last 15 years. Except for Vancouver that experiences growth rates less than 40%, all the other CMAs have growth rates that are higher than

40%. Montreal has the fastest growth in the Chinese population - approximately 72% from 2001 to 2016.
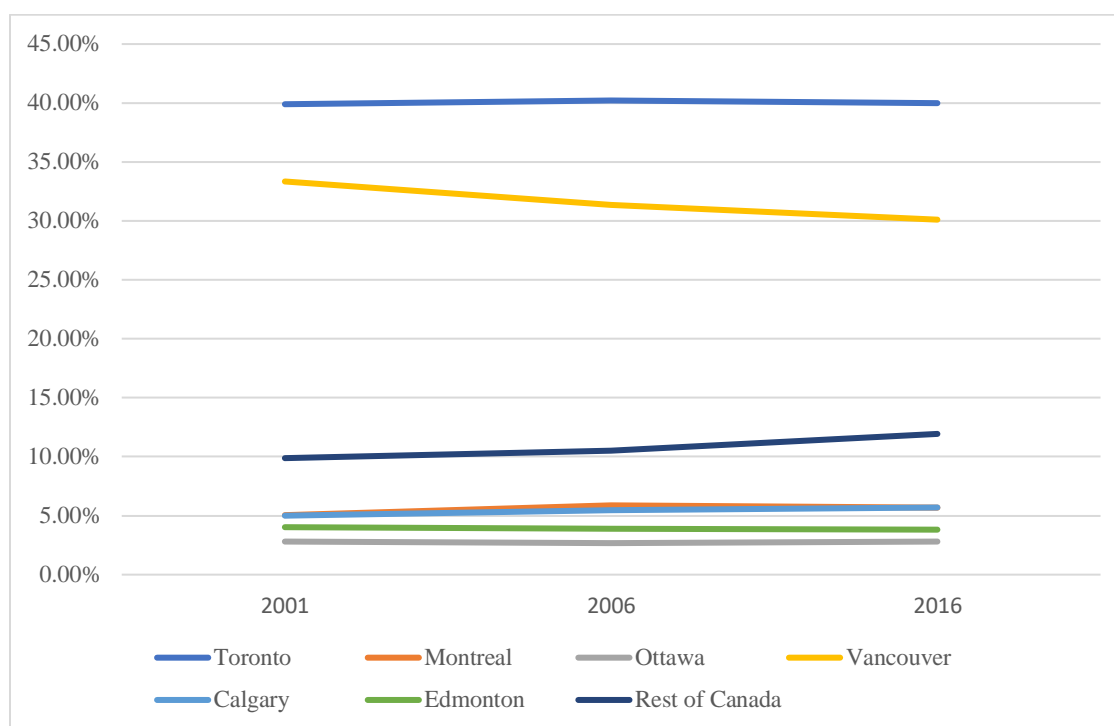


Figure 1: Percentage of the Chinese population living in the selected CMAs in Canada. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

| Category | Chinese population | | | Growth rate % | % of the Chinese population in each CMA | | | % of the Chinese population in Canada | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Time period | 2001 | 2006 | 2016 | 2001-2016 | 2001 | 2006 | 2016 | 2001 | 2006 | 2016 |
| Toronto | 409430 | 481965 | 630905 | 54.1 | 8.7 | 9.4 | 10.8 | 39.9 | 40.2 | 40.0 |
| Montreal | 51770 | 70440 | 89210 | 72.3 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 5.7 |
| Ottawa | 28790 | 32040 | 43835 | 52.3 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 2.8 |
| Vancouver | 342195 | 375610 | 474720 | 38.7 | 17.2 | 17.9 | 19.6 | 33.3 | 31.3 | 30.1 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Calgary** | 51335 | 65815 | 89775 | 74.9 | | 5.4 | 6.1 | 6.4 | 5.0 | 5.5 | 5.7 |
| **Edmonton** | 41310 | 46470 | 60170 | 45.7 | | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 3.8 |

Table 1: the number of the Chinese population in the selected CMAs; Growth of the Chinese population in the last 15 years in six CMAs; the percentage of the Chinese population in the selected CMAs; the percentage of the Chinese population living in the selected CMAs in Canada. Source: Canadian Census 2001 - 2016, Statistics Canada.

4.1.2 Chinese Immigrants

The previous analysis has suggested that the Chinese population is a significant and fast-growing part of the demographic profile in Canada's largest metropolitan areas. The Chinese population in Canada has grown approximately 53 percent since 2001 while the growth rate of the total population in Canada is only around 17 percent (Statistics Canada, 2001-2016). Behind the high growth rates of the Chinese population, apart from the local growth, immigration also contributes significantly to the increasing Chinese population in Canada.

According to Statistics Canada (2016), the definition of "immigrants" is people who have obtained permanent residency in Canada, which means that the international students, foreign workers, and other foreigners staying in Canada temporarily are excluded.

Although many Chinese-descent immigrants are entering Canada each year, the primary places of origin of Chinese immigrants are Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These three regions have been labeled explicitly in the census in the last 15 years. Although there are immigrants with Chinese-descent from Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore and other countries in Southeast Asia, it is hard to differentiate them from immigrants of other-descents from these countries due to the complexity of the ethnicities. Of the three regions mentioned before, Mainland China is the most significant source of Chinese immigrants due to its massive population. According to Ling (2009), due to the Open-Door policy initially implemented in 1980, the number of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China to Canada started to increase significantly. Before the 1980s, the Mainland China was under the strict control of the government which did not allow its citizens to leave the country; Hong Kong and Taiwan were the main sources of Chinese immigrants before the 1980s. The most popular destinations of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China are Toronto and

Vancouver – both have a population of over 100,000 in 2001 (see table 4). Notably, Chinese immigrants from Mainland China increased dramatically in the last 15 years across the six CMAs.

Hong Kong is the second most popular origin of Chinese immigrants in Canada. In 2001, there were over 100,000 immigrants from Hong Kong living in the Toronto metropolitan area. In some CMAs, the number of immigrants from Hong Kong is slightly lower than that of the immigrants from Mainland China. For example, in Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton, and Calgary, the percentage of immigrants from Mainland China are only around 0.2% higher than that of the immigrants from Hong Kong in 2001. While in Ottawa and Vancouver, the difference in the percentage of the number of immigrants between the two origins can be more than 0.7%. Interestingly, the number of immigrants from Hong Kong has decreased in the last 15 years in all selected CMAs except for Calgary which experienced a slight increase in the number of immigrants from Hong Kong.

Taiwan is the origin that has the least number of Chinese immigrants in Canada among the three origins. In 2001, only Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal had more than 2000 immigrants from Taiwan. The percentage of the number of Taiwanese immigrants in Vancouver is about 1.8% while that percentage in Toronto is only 0.3%. Over the last 15 years, the number of Taiwanese immigrants has increased across all CMAs except for Vancouver which the number has decreased to about 37,000. The issue with the dramatic decreases in data for the 2011 census remains (see table 6).

Based on the analysis of Chinese immigration population, Mainland China has become the origin sending the most number of Chinese immigrants to the six CMAs since 2001; while Hong Kong is the second most popular origin with a decreasing population across most CMAs; Taiwan is the origin with the least number of Chinese immigrants, although this population is increasing. Figure 2 demonstrates the percentage of Chinese immigrants from each origin in the selected CMAs. Although a majority of Chinese immigrants in Toronto and Vancouver are from Mainland China, both these cities also have a strong presence of immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Calgary and Edmonton have similar percentages of the immigrants from the three origins. However, in Montreal and Ottawa, the percentage of immigrants from Mainland China is around 85% which is much higher than that of the other CMAs. As mentioned before, the growth of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China is substantial across all CMAs. The growth rates are demonstrated for the last 15 years (see table 4-6). The growth rates show dramatic increases in all CMAs especially for

Montreal, Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton where the number of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China is much less than that of Toronto or Vancouver. However, considering that Toronto already has a significant size of immigrants from Mainland China, the growth rates in Toronto CMA is still impressive. The high growth rates will ensure Mainland China remains the most significant source of Chinese immigrants in Canadian cities in the future.

| | Immigrants 2001 | Immigrants 2016 | Growth rate 2001-2016 | % of the overall population 2001 | % of the overall population 2016% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Toronto** | 136005 | 266865 | 96.2 | 2.3 | 4.6 |
| **Montreal** | 21420 | 43335 | 102.3 | 0.5 | 1.1 |
| **Ottawa** | 13180 | 18900 | 43.4 | 1.0 | 1.4 |
| **Vancouver** | 101615 | 188750 | 85.8 | 4.2 | 7.8 |
| **Calgary** | 14470 | 34855 | 140.9 | 1.0 | 2.5 |
| **Edmonton** | 10935 | 19650 | 79.7 | 0.8 | 1.5 |

Table 4: Immigrants from Mainland China in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2001 - 2016, Statistics Canada.

| | Immigrants 2001 | Immigrants 2016 | Growth rate 2001-2016 | % of the overall population 2001 | % of the overall population 2016% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Toronto** | 111030 | 100120 | -9.8 | 1.9 | 1.7 |
| **Montreal** | 5360 | 4480 | -16.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| **Ottawa** | 3595 | 3105 | -13.6 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| **Vancouver** | 85730 | 71670 | -16.4 | 3.5 | 3.0 |
| **Calgary** | 10575 | 11170 | 5.6 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| **Edmonton** | 7325 | 7165 | -2.2 | 0.6 | 0.5 |

Table 5: Immigrants from Hong Kong in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2001 - 2016, Statistics Canada.

| | Immigrants 2001 | Immigrants 2016 | Growth rate 2001-2016 | % of the overall population 2001 | % of the overall population 2016% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Toronto** | 14950 | 14955 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.3 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Montreal** | 2525 | 2640 | 4.6 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| **Ottawa** | 620 | 875 | 41.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| **Vancouver** | 43740 | 37555 | -14.1 | 1.8 | 1.5 |
| **Calgary** | 1470 | 2290 | 55.8 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| **Edmonton** | 480 | 965 | 101.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |

Table 6: immigrants from Taiwan in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2001 - 2016, Statistics Canada.
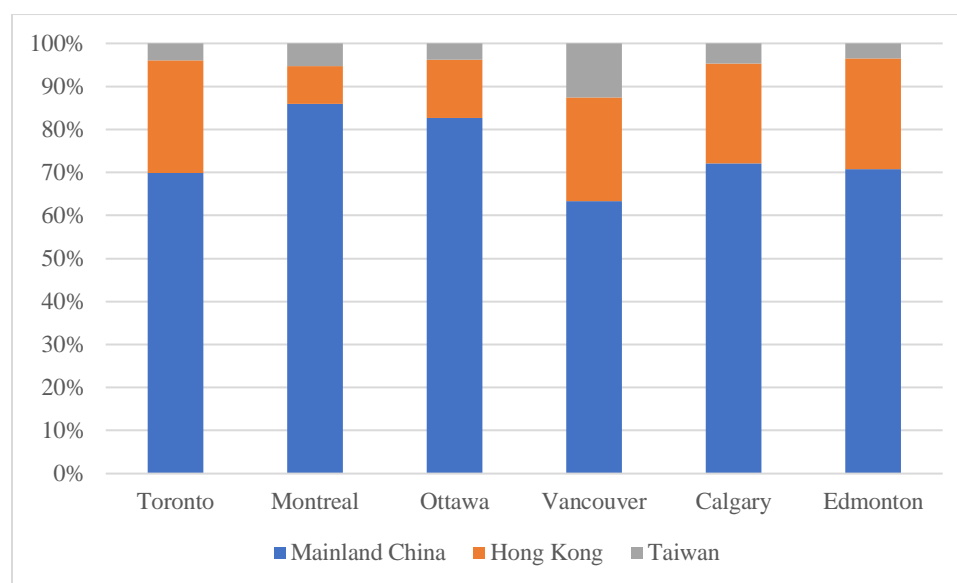


Figure 2: Percentage of Chinese immigrants from three regions in six CMAs in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

4.1.3 Chinese Languages

As examined in the previous analysis, the presence of immigrants from Mainland China is on the rise across all the CMAs. Mandarin, as the most common language in Mainland China, is likely to be spoken by these immigrants. Therefore, the Mandarin-speaking population can reflect immigration as well as indicate cultural changes in the CMAs.

In the selected CMAs, a general trend of significant increases in the number of people speaking Mandarin is observed. Like the Chinese immigrants from Mainland China, the number of Mandarin speakers were concentrated mainly in Toronto and Vancouver in 2001 – both had more

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than 0.5% of its overall population speaking Mandarin. The other CMAs had less than 0.2% of the total population who speak Mandarin in 2001. However, the percentages have increased dramatically across all CMAs since 2001. Notably, in Toronto and Vancouver, the percentage of Mandarin-speakers exceed 5% in 2016, especially, Vancouver has over 10% of its population speaking Mandarin (see table 7).

The fast-growing Mandarin-speaking population in the CMAs indicates that there are more immigrants from Mainland China as well as Chinese citizens, including international students and workers living in Canada. By comparison with the number of immigrants from Mainland China, the Mandarin-speaking population reflects total immigration from Mainland China into Canada more effectively. Although the number of Mandarin-speaking population and the total number of the immigrants from Mainland China are related, the latter only reflects the number of Chinese people who are immigrated to Canada despite the fact that there are a considerable number of international students, temporary worker and other Chinese people who are living in Canada temporarily. Among these people, many of them are living in the downtown Chinatowns and the suburban Chinese enclaves, so it is important to at both numbers to understand that the demographic changes of the Chinese population in the last 15 years.

| | Mandarin speakers 2001 | Mandarin speakers 2016 | Growth rate 2001-2016 | % of the overall population 2001 | % of the overall population 2016% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Toronto** | 35195 | 313870 | 791.8% | 0.6% | 5.4% |
| **Montreal** | 4030 | 54195 | 1244.8% | 0.1% | 1.3% |
| **Ottawa** | 3175 | 26365 | 730.4% | 0.2% | 2.0% |
| **Vancouver** | 47210 | 250400 | 430.4% | 1.9% | 10.3% |
| **Calgary** | 3255 | 39250 | 1105.8% | 0.2% | 2.8% |
| **Edmonton** | 2245 | 28405 | 1165.3% | 0.2% | 2.1% |

Table 7: Mandarin-speaking population in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2001 - 2016, Statistics Canada.

Unlike the newly emerging Mandarin-speaking population, the Cantonese-speaking population in Canada has a long history due to the massive influx of Cantonese-speaking immigrants before the 2000s. The strong presence of the Cantonese-speaking population can be reflected in comparison with the Mandarin-speaking population in the CMAs. In 2001, the Cantonese-speaking population

was larger than the Mandarin-speaking population across all selected CMAs—particularly in Toronto and Vancouver where the Cantonese-speaking population has exceeded 100,000. The number of Cantonese-speaking population continued to be higher than that of the Mandarin-speaking population until 2011. However, in many CMAs, the number of Cantonese-speaking population falls behind the number of Mandarin-speaking population in the 2016 census, especially in Toronto and Vancouver where the Chinese population is predominantly Cantonese-speaking. While Calgary and Edmonton still have a more significant Cantonese-speaking population than the Mandarin-speaking population. However, based on the fast growth rates of the Mandarin-speaking population, the Cantonese-speaking population will most likely be exceeded in the next census.

In table 7 and 8, the growth rates of the Mandarin- and Cantonese-speaking population are astonishing—particularly the former. In CMAs such as Montreal and Calgary, where the Chinese population did not have a strong presence before 2001, the number of Mandarin-speaking population and the number of Cantonese-speaking population both have growth rates that are more than 200% in the last 15 years. Toronto and Vancouver also have somewhat slower but still significant growth rates, considering the larger number of Cantonese- and Mandarin-speaking people in these cities prior to 2001.

| | Mandarin speakers 2001 | Mandarin speakers 2016 | Growth rate 2001-2016 | % of the overall population 2001 | % of the overall population 2016% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Toronto** | 145280 | 306655 | 111.1% | 2.5% | 5.2% |
| **Montreal** | 5930 | 30550 | 415.2% | 0.1% | 0.7% |
| **Ottawa** | 5060 | 13095 | 158.8% | 0.4% | 1.0% |
| **Vancouver** | 121775 | 223785 | 83.8% | 5.0% | 9.2% |
| **Calgary** | 13805 | 43175 | 212.7% | 1.0% | 3.1% |
| **Edmonton** | 10925 | 28825 | 163.8% | 0.8% | 2.2% |

Table 8: Cantonese-speaking population in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2001 - 2016, Statistics Canada.

## 4.2 Spatial Distribution of Chinese Population

The previous section has identified that the Chinese population and the Chinese immigrants are increasing at a high rate in the selected CMAs. However, the analysis has not revealed the spatial

distribution of the Chinese communities within CMAs. In this section, I analyze the spatial distribution of the Chinese population in the selected six CMAs in Canada. Using GIS mapping, the analyses in this section identify the spatial location of suburban Chinatowns and reveal changes in Chinese settlement patterns in Canada in the last 15 years. The variable used for the analysis is ethnicity—in particular, the Chinese population. An analysis of the changes of the Chinese population is conducted for each CMA in order to identify suburban Chinatown(s) in each CMA.

Two developments patterns of suburban Chinatown are apparent. One is represented by CMAs like Toronto and Vancouver, which already had a large Chinese population before the 2000s; these CMAs experienced less land expansion in suburban Chinese communities but more intensification of these communities. The other development pattern includes CMAs such as Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa, where the Chinese population is not as large as in Toronto or Vancouver; these cities have experienced wider suburbanization of the Chinese communities in terms of spreading further out in the suburbs, but little intensification in terms of the concentration of the Chinese population.

4.2.1 Toronto

In order to identify where suburban Chinese communities are located in Toronto, the most straight-forward approach is to map out where the Chinese population is located in the CMA. Figure 3 shows that in 2001, the Chinese population generally concentrated north of the city of Toronto. However, there are two areas in downtown Toronto where the Chinese population is more than 50 percent of the total population (figure 3). One of these two areas is the downtown Chinatown in Toronto. The map also suggests that in 2001, there was already a large-scale Chinese community in the suburbs north of Toronto.

The Chinese population has seen a significant increase since 2001. In 2016, a considerable number of areas that had no Chinese population increased to have at least 10 percent of Chinese residents in the CMA. However, the most notable changes occurred in the north of the city of Toronto. The suburban Chinese communities in the region continue to grow to be even bigger. By comparison, the downtown Chinatown has experienced a decrease in the percentage of the Chinese population. The percentage of the Chinese population has decreased below 50 percent in the two areas in downtown Toronto. The trends in the spatial distribution of Chinese population suggest the rise of suburban Chinatowns and the decline of the downtown Chinatown in Toronto CMA.
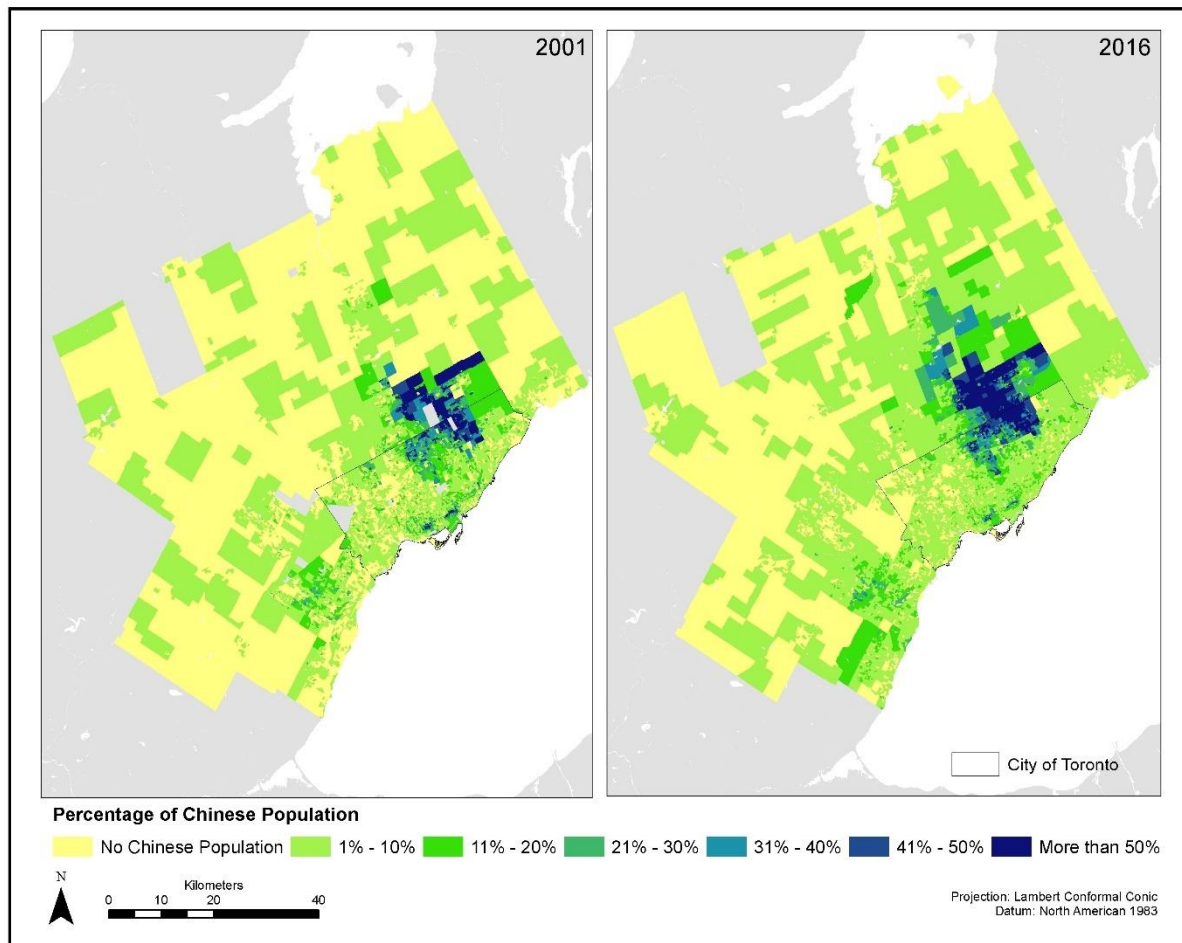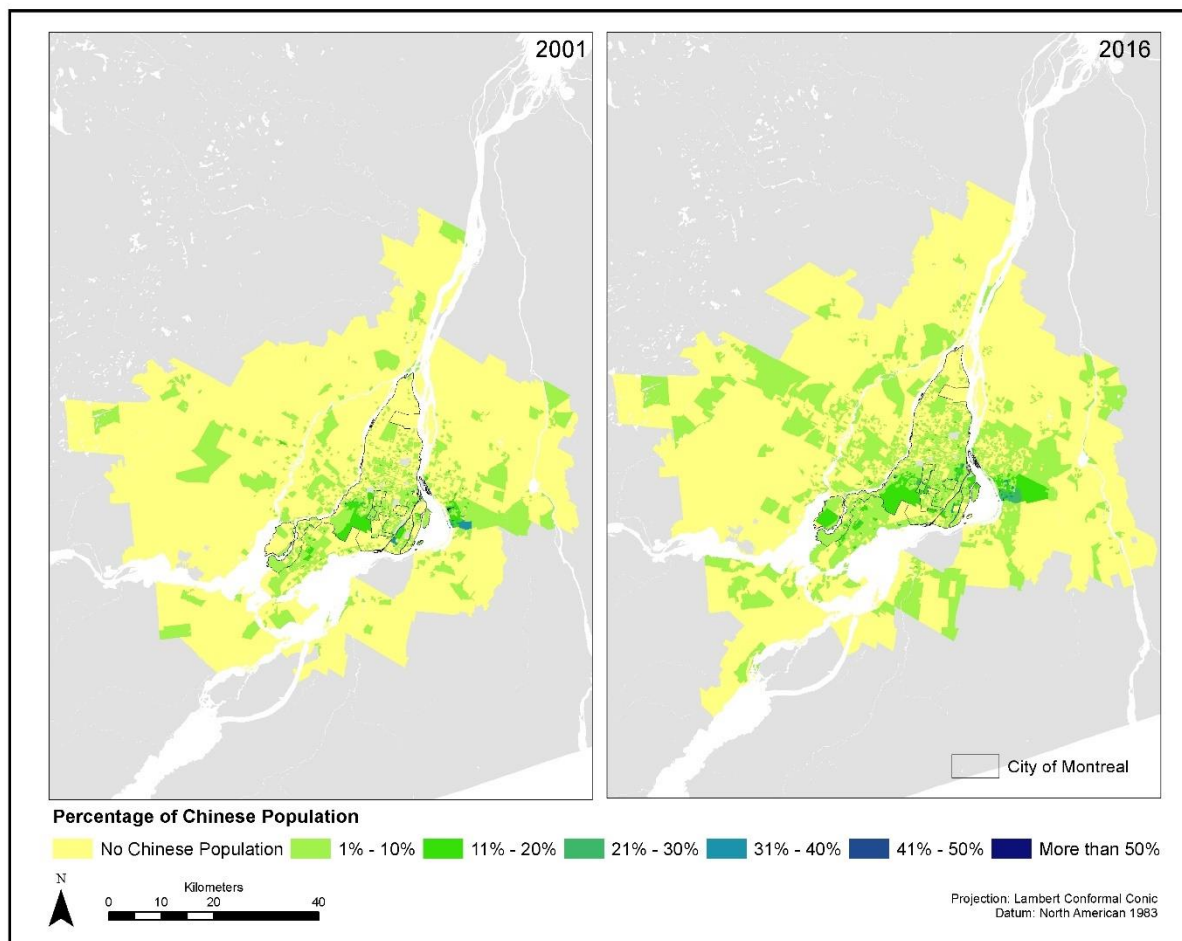
**Figure 3: Chinese population in Toronto CMA in 2001 and 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2001 and 2016, Statistics Canada.**

4.2.2 Montreal

Montreal is the second most populous metropolitan area in Canada but does not have a large Chinese population. As shown in Figure 4, only three spots were notable in 2001. One is the small area in downtown Montreal where the borough of Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce is located. The other two are in Brossard, Quebec which is a municipality close to the City of Montreal. The downtown Chinatown is geographically small, but its population is majority Chinese. By comparison, a general expansion of the Chinese population can be observed in Montreal CMA in 2016. Notably, the south shore and the west side of the city of Montreal have seen a noticeable increase. At the same time, the two areas in the south shore with a percentage of the Chinese population more than 30 percent have experienced a decrease in the percentage; this

was likely caused by the changes in the boundaries of dissemination areas between the two censuses. More areas in and around the downtown Chinatown have experienced relative increases in the percentage of the Chinese population in 2016 as the downtown Chinatown is slightly more visible on the map. The general trend of the spatial pattern of the Chinese population in Montreal CMA suggests that downtown Chinatown has grown slightly while the suburban Chinese communities in the borough of Saint-Laurent and city of Brossard have experienced more significant growth.



**Figure 4: Chinese population in Montreal CMA in 2001 and 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2001 and 2016, Statistics Canada.**
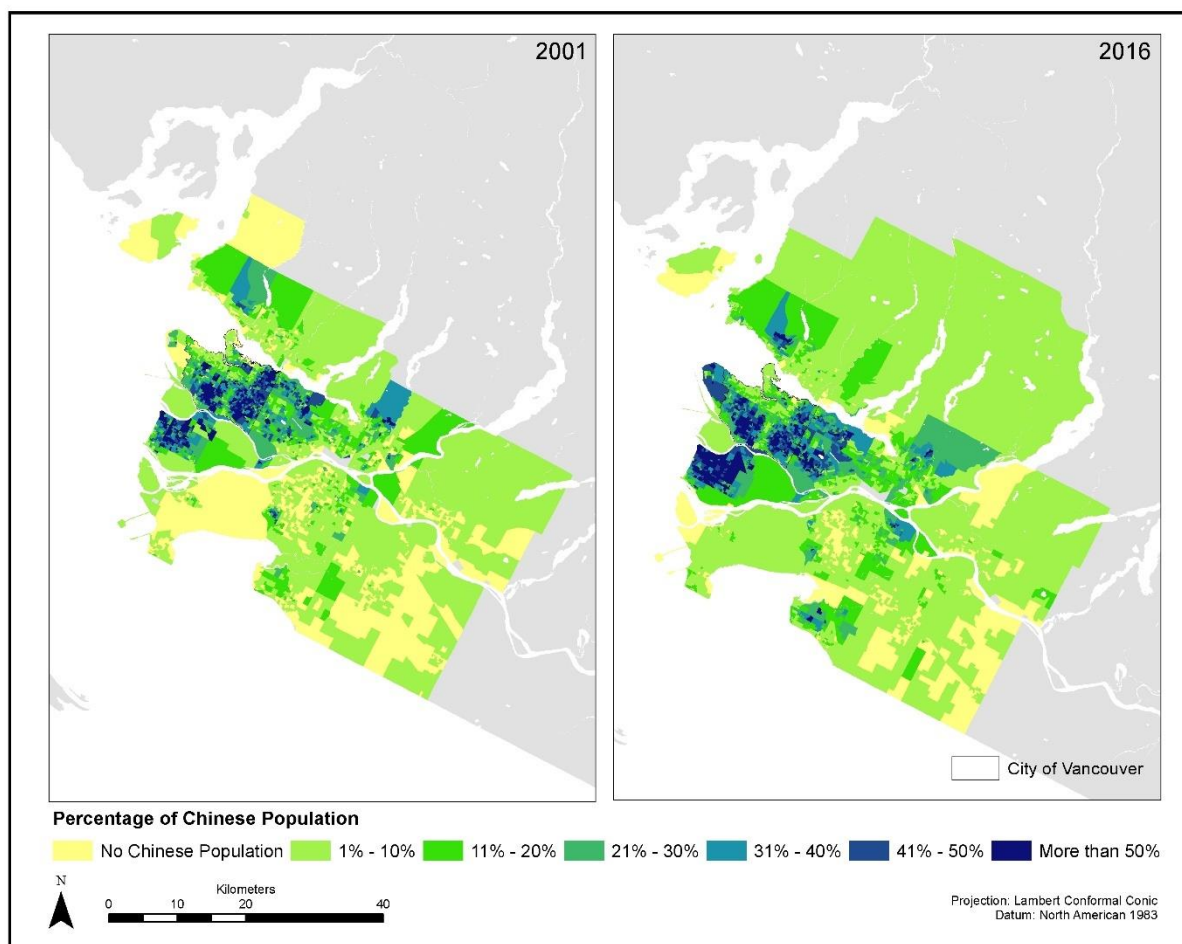
4.2.3 Vancouver

The Vancouver CMA is similar to the Toronto CMA where the Chinese population has a strong presence. In 2001, there are many cities in the CMA with majority-Chinese areas, notably, in the

city of Vancouver, the City of Burnaby and the City of Richmond. The downtown Chinatown is an area with a high concentration of Chinese population in downtown Vancouver; the 2016 census indicates a decrease in the concentration of its Chinese population. By comparison, areas of strong growth in the Chinese population between 2001 and 2016 can be found mainly in the city of Richmond, the city of Surrey, the city of Burnaby and the areas near the University of British Columbia (UBC). Figure 5 shows two types of growth that occurred between 2001 and 2016; one is the growth in areas where the Chinese communities are already well established, such as Richmond and Burnaby; another is the growth in areas where the percentage of the Chinese population was not high, such as Surrey and the areas near UBC.

The general trend of the spatial pattern of the Chinese population in Vancouver CMA suggests that the downtown Chinatown is in decline (although from a very high baseline) while old Chinese suburbs continue to grow, and new suburban Chinatowns are emerging.

**Figure 5: Chinese population in Vancouver CMA in 2001 and 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2001 and 2016, Statistics Canada.**
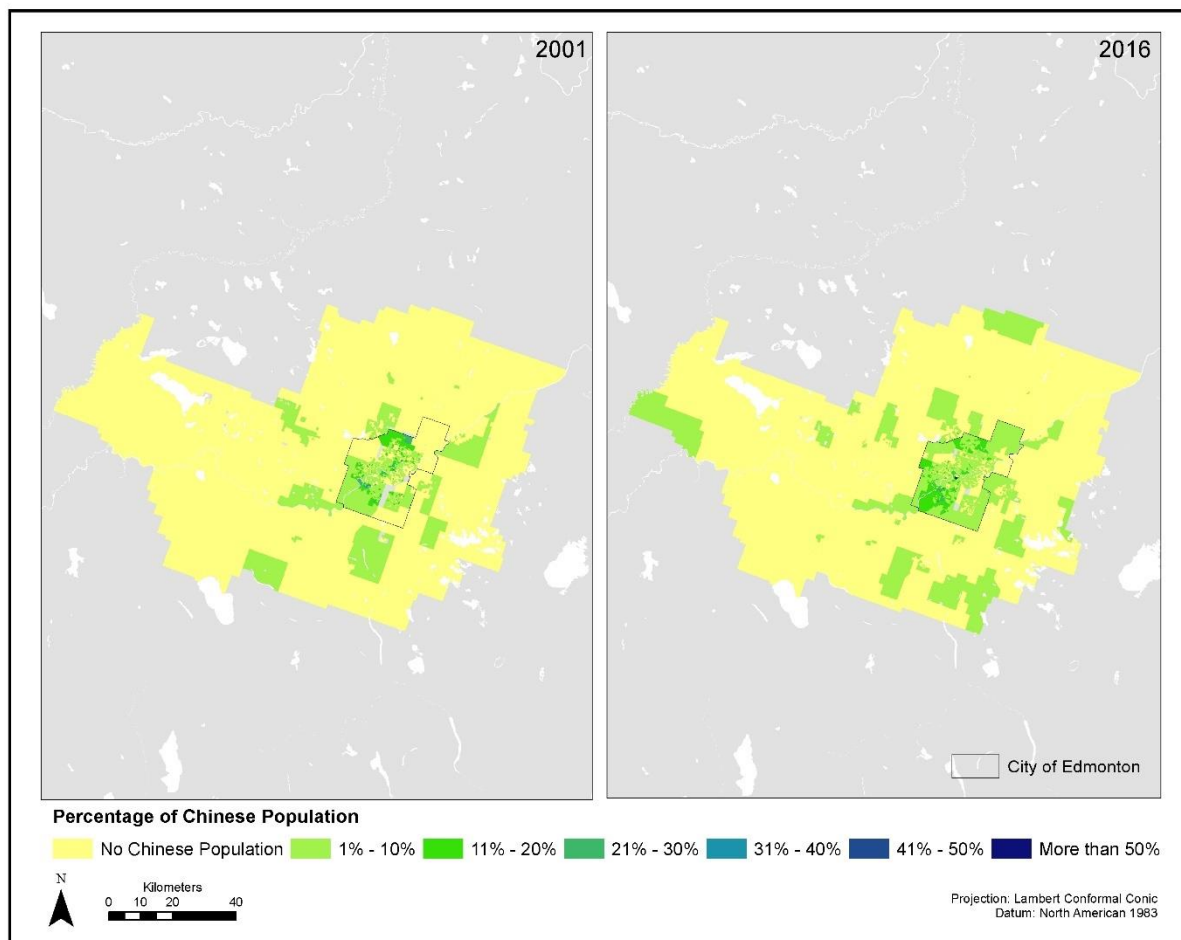
4.2.4 Calgary

Like Montreal, the Calgary CMA does not have a large Chinese population. In 2001, the only areas with a reasonably high concentration of Chinese population were the downtown Chinatown (which is barely visible on the map) and some neighborhoods that are located in the north of the city of Calgary. By comparison, suburban Chinese communities experienced noticeable growth in Ward 4 in the suburbs of Calgary between 2001 and 2016. The downtown Chinatown also saw a slight expansion in its boundaries. In general, there is more Chinese population spreading outside the city boundary in 2016. The spatial trend in the CMA suggests that the downtown Chinatown is growing while the suburban Chinese communities in Ward 4 are expanding at an even faster rate.
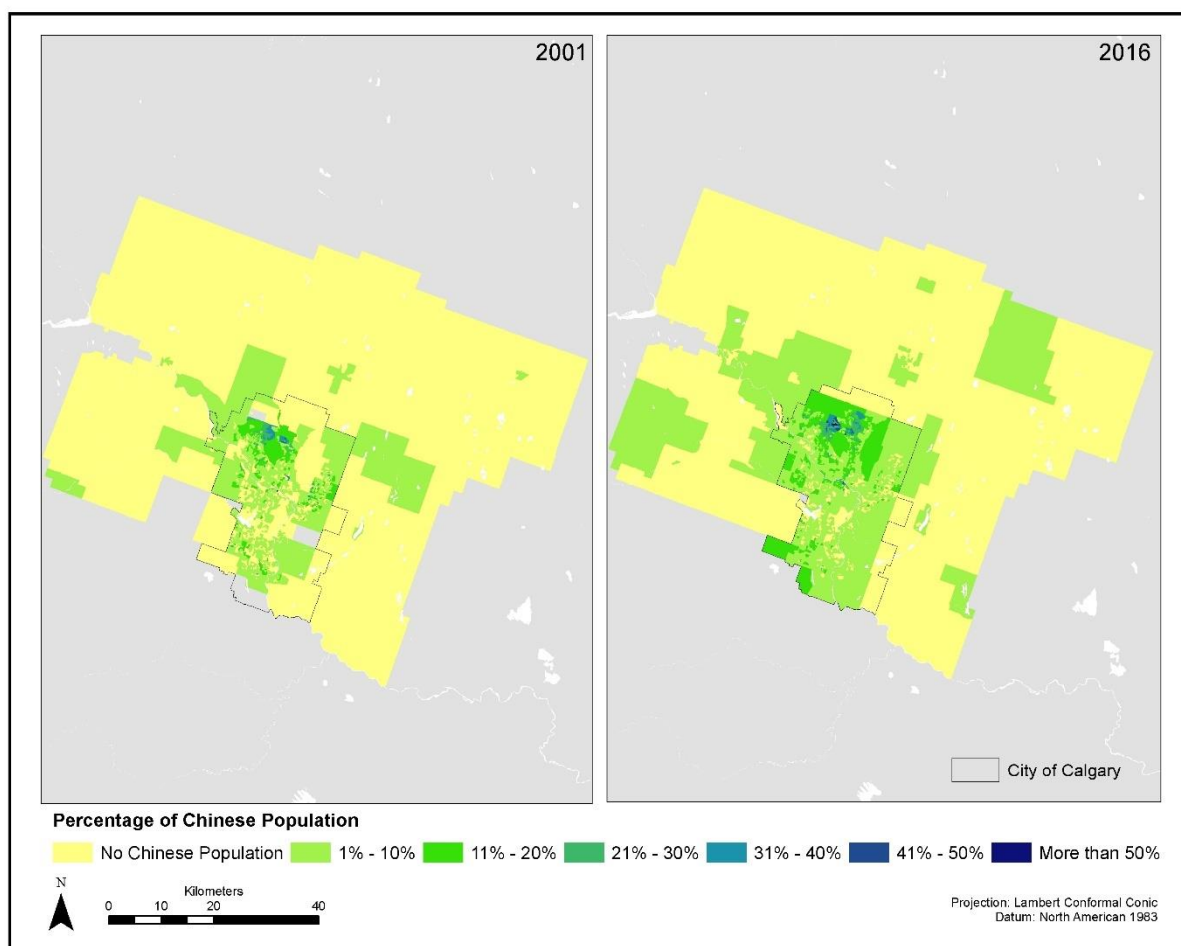
**Figure 6: Chinese population in Calgary CMA in 2001 and 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2001 and 2016, Statistics Canada.**

4.2.5 Edmonton

The Edmonton CMA does not have a large Chinese population. In 2001, the Chinese population was mainly concentrated in the downtown Chinatown as well as in the suburbs in the southwest of the city of Edmonton. By comparison, between 2001 and 2016 the Chinese population has spread out slightly more in the suburban areas, notably in the southwest of the city. The downtown Chinatown has also experienced a slight increase. The general spatial trend of the Chinese population in the CMA suggests that both suburban Chinese communities and the downtown Chinatown are increasing at a moderate rate.



**Figure 7: Chinese population in Edmonton CMA in 2001 and 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2001 and 2016, Statistics Canada.**

4.2.6 Ottawa

Like Montreal CMA, Ottawa CMA does not have a large Chinese population. In 2001, the Chinese population was mainly concentrated in downtown Chinatown and scattered around the suburbs around downtown Ottawa. By comparison, the Chinese population continued to grow in downtown Chinatown between 2001 and 2016. Additionally, there are some areas in Huntley Township that have a high concentration of Chinese population in 2016. In general, the Chinese population is scattered towards the suburbs of Ottawa. The spatial trend of the Chinese population suggests that the downtown Chinatown is slightly growing while the suburban Chinese communities in Huntley Township are thriving.
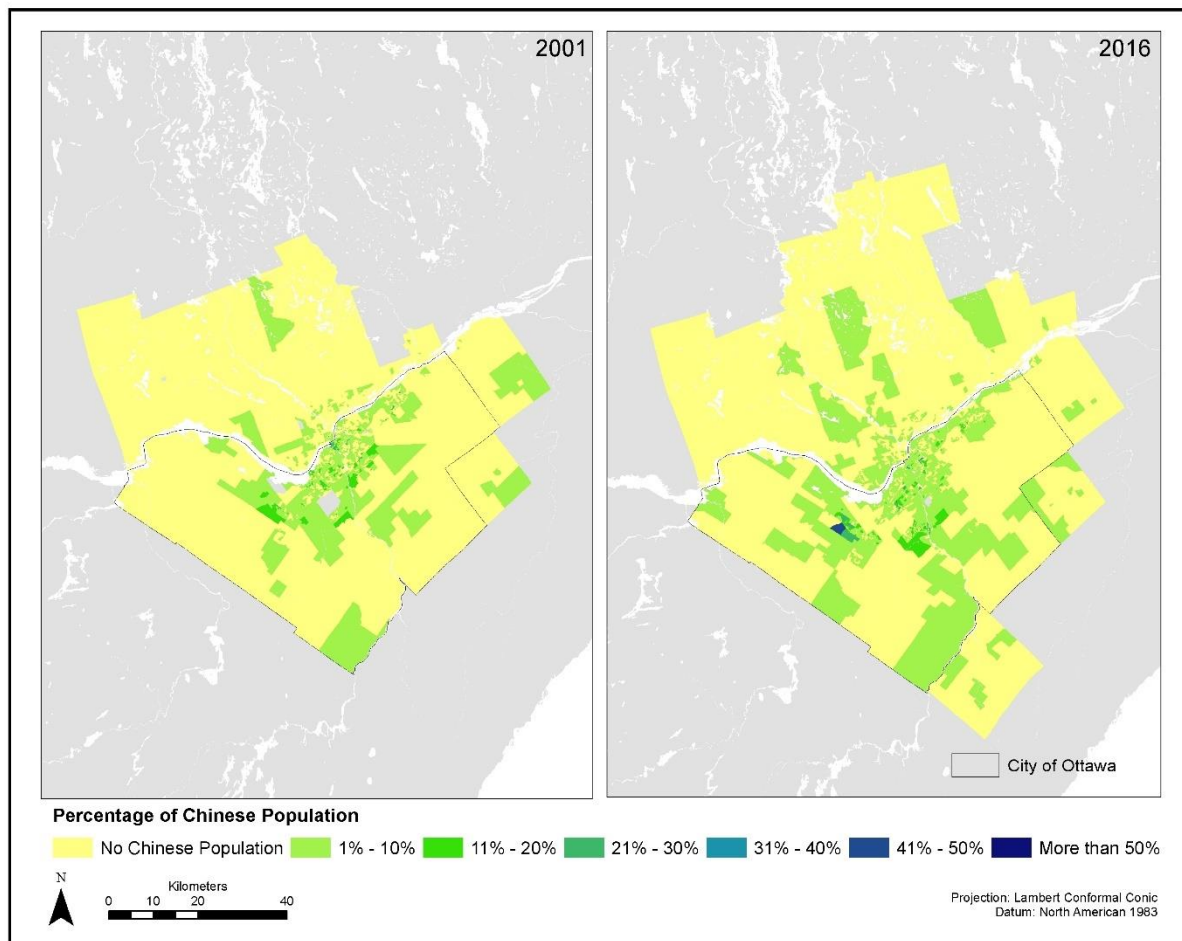


**Figure 8: Chinese population in Ottawa CMA in 2001 and 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2001 and 2016, Statistics Canada.**

4.2.7 Summary

Spatial analysis has identified two developments pattern of suburban Chinatown across the CMAs. One is represented by CMAs like Toronto and Vancouver, which already had a large Chinese population before the 2000s; these CMAs experienced less land expansion in suburban Chinese communities but more intensification of these communities. For example, many dissemination areas in Markham, Ontario were majority Chinese in 2001, but the percentage of the Chinese population has continued to increase between 2001 and 2016 in these dissemination areas. Meanwhile, the boundaries of these suburban Chinese communities expanded rather slowly.

The other development pattern includes CMAs such as Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa where the Chinese population is not as large as in Toronto or Vancouver; these cities have experienced wider suburbanization of the Chinese communities in terms of spreading further out in the suburbs, but little intensification in terms of the concentration of the Chinese population. The rate of expansion of the Chinese population in the suburbs in these CMAs is significant. Many dissemination areas gained Chinese residents in the last 15 years. However, due to the lack of strong presence of Chinese population in these CMAs, the percentage of the Chinese population in the suburban neighborhoods is less concentrated – even in the areas with the largest concentrations of Chinese residents, most dissemination areas are between 15 percent and 30 percent Chinese, while a few exceed 30 percent.

There are two plausible explanations for the formation of these two types of development patterns. The first is the absolute size of the Chinese population in the CMA: the total number of the Chinese population in a CMA appears to be directly linked to the size and the concentration of the suburban Chinese communities. Toronto and Vancouver CMAs have substantially higher numbers of the Chinese population than the other CMAs. Therefore, the suburban Chinese communities in these CMAs are much larger in size as well as in the concentration of Chinese residents. The second possible explanation is the time of settlement and development of the suburban Chinese communities. In particular, the suburban Chinese communities in Toronto and Vancouver CMA were established much earlier than the suburban Chinese communities in the other four CMAs. For example, Markham, Ontario and Richmond, British Columbia became significant Chinese settlements in the early 1990s when more Chinese immigrants arrived in these cities, or the local Chinese population migrated from the downtown areas to the suburbs. By contrast, suburban

Chinese communities in the other CMAs were established in the late 1990s or the early 2000s when more Chinese immigrants arrived and settled in these CMAs. The well-established suburban Chinatowns like Richmond and Markham have the advantage of having the developed local ethnic services towards the Chinese population while the newly established suburban Chinatowns in other CMAs still need time to be fully developed. Additionally, the real estate prices, as well as other living expenses, have risen significantly in both Vancouver and Toronto CMA since the late 1990s while the suburban Chinatowns in other smaller CMAs are more affordable to some new Chinese immigrants.

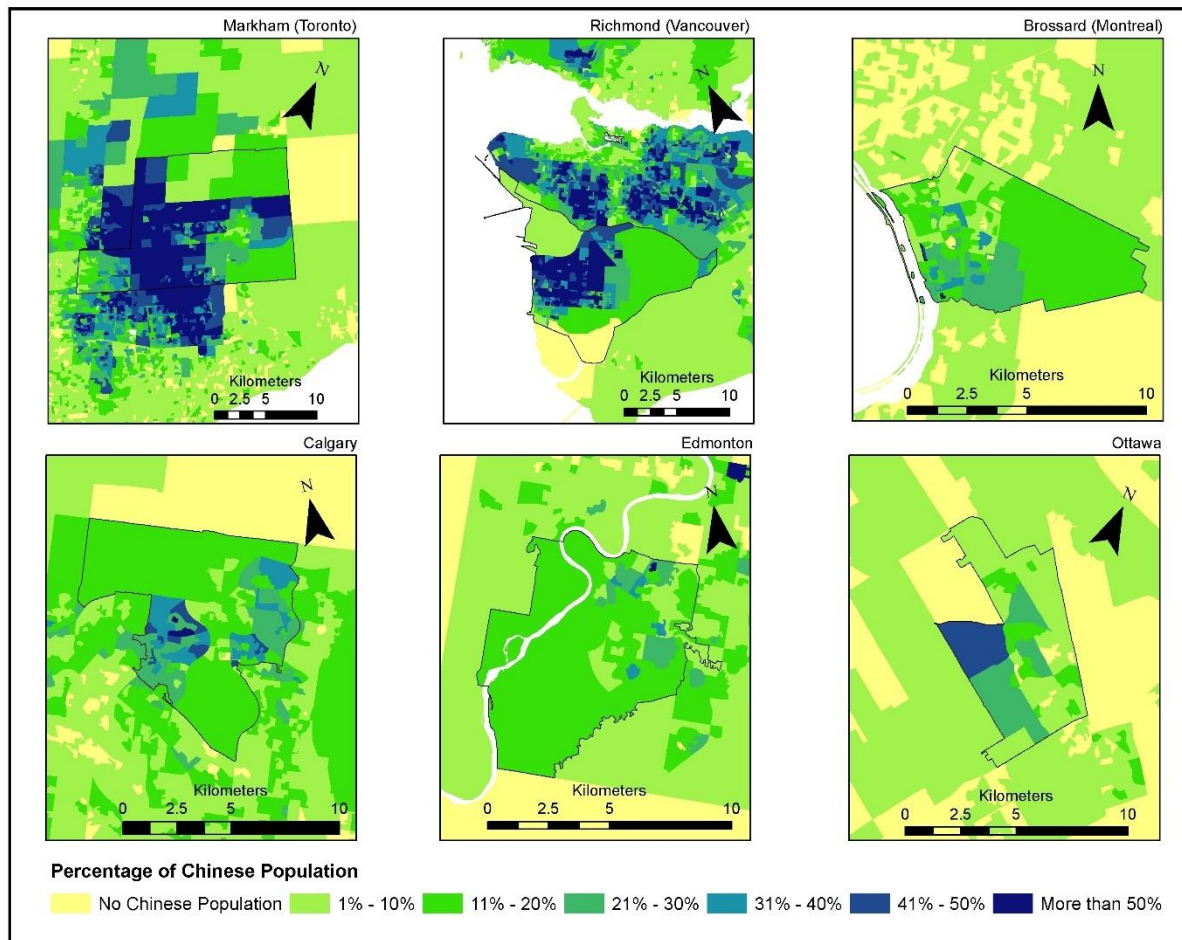**4.3 Suburban Chinatown versus Downtown Chinatown**

In the previous section, the suburban Chinese communities in each CMA were identified. In this section, these suburban Chinese communities are analyzed using detailed demographic data. Additionally, in order to understand how the suburban Chinatowns are demographically different from their downtown counterpart, I compare the demographic and employment information of the suburban Chinatown with the downtown Chinatown in each CMA. The results of the comparison are analyzed to reveal the different development patterns between the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown. Moreover, I also compare demographic and employment data among the six suburban Chinatowns; and another one among the six downtown Chinatowns.

The comparative analysis in the chapter has revealed three development patterns of the suburban Chinatowns in the selected CMAs. The first pattern is represented by the suburban Chinatowns in Vancouver and Toronto. These suburban Chinatowns are already well-developed and are more likely to cause the decline of the downtown Chinatown by competing for commercial and human resources; the second one is represented by the suburban Chinatowns in Calgary and Montreal, which are on the way to be well-established but are not developed enough to threaten the status of the downtown Chinatowns; the last pattern is that of Edmonton and Ottawa, where and the downtown Chinatowns are still the heart of the local Chinese community, and the suburban Chinatowns are just starting to develop. Because the CMAs such as Vancouver and Toronto have multiple suburban Chinese communities, the most representative suburban Chinese community has been chosen from each CMA to conduct the analysis. The suburban Chinatowns that are included in the demographic analysis are part of Ward 7 and Ward 9 in the City of Edmonton,

Ward 4 in the City of Calgary, the Huntley Township in the City of Ottawa, the City of Brossard, the City of Richmond, and the City of Markham (see figure 9).

The justification for choosing the boundaries of these suburban Chinatowns is different for each CMA. For Richmond, BC and Markham, ON, the boundaries are the city boundaries which are included in the Canadian census shapefiles. Additionally, these two cities have the highest concertation of the Chinese population in their CMA; most of the dissemination areas within the city boundaries have the percentage of the Chinese population over 50 percent. Therefore, it is reasonable to choose these two municipalities entirely as the suburban Chinatown for their CMA. As for Brossard, QC, although most of the dissemination areas do not have the percentage of the Chinese population over 50 percent, the city still contains a higher concentration of Chinese population than other suburban municipalities in Montreal CMA. Therefore, choosing Brossard as the suburban Chinatown for Montreal CMA is justified. For the suburban Chinatowns in Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa CMA, the selected areas are not in an independent municipality (unlike the previous cases of Richmond, Markham, and Brossard). Due to the vast size (municipal boundaries) of Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa, the selected areas in these three cities can still be considered suburban. Although there are municipal administrative divisions, for example, wards or townships in these cities, only part of the divisions are selected for the analysis due to the uneven distribution of the Chinese population within the division boundaries. Two general principles for the selection are the percentage of the Chinese population above 15 percent and clear clustering of the Chinese population with nearby dissemination areas. For instance, in figure 9, there is a dissemination area in Edmonton (showing in the top right corner of the map) that has a concentration of the Chinese population over 50 percent which is a promising sign for the suburban Chinatown. However, the dissemination areas around that one are either having less than 15 percent in the Chinese population or no Chinese population. Therefore, that specific dissemination area is treated as an outlier and excluded in the area selected for the demographic analysis.

**Figure 9: The Suburban Chinatown in the selected six CMAs in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**
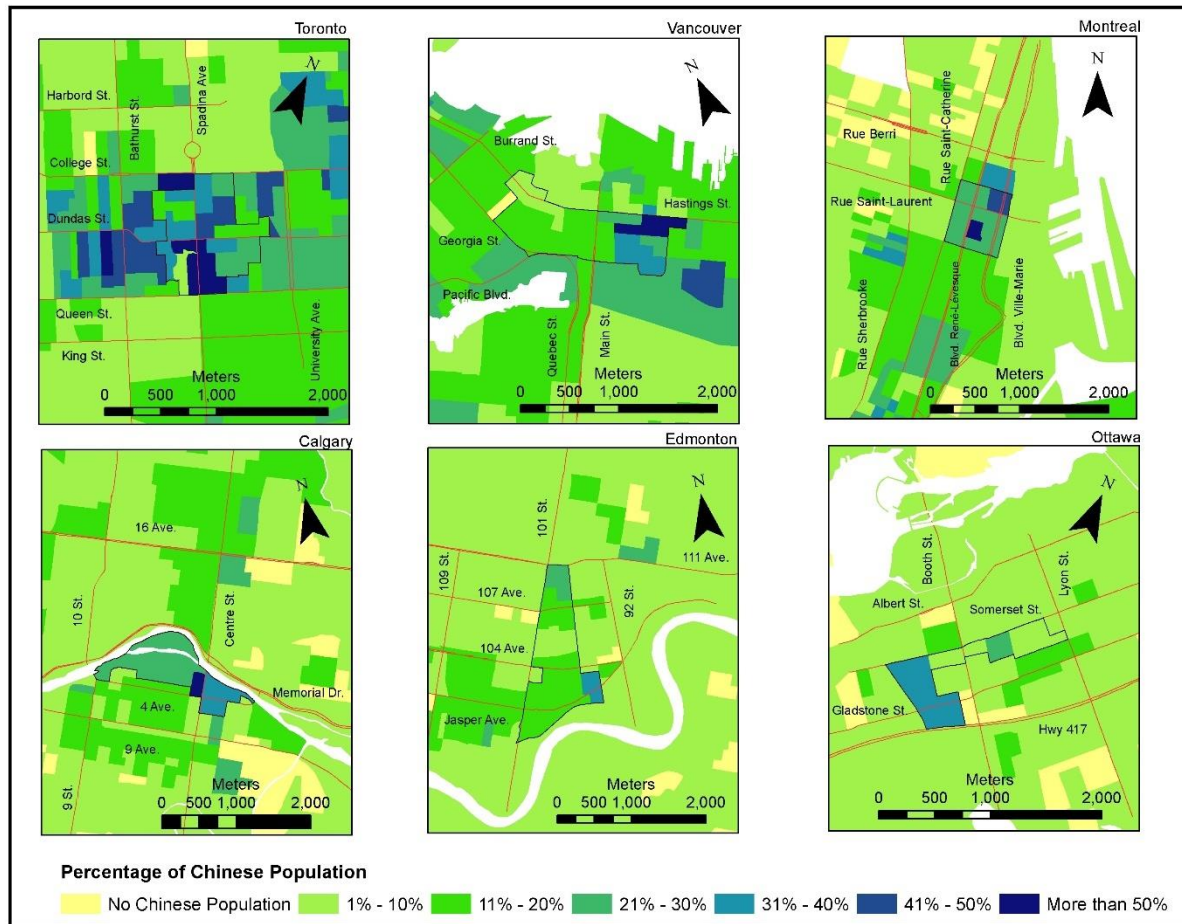
**Figure 10: The Downtown Chinatown in the selected six CMAs in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

In order to compare the demographics between the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in each CMA, six downtown Chinatowns are selected and visualized in figure 9 and figure 10. Each city that the downtown Chinatown is located has its own official boundaries for the downtown Chinatown. Therefore, the study area for each Chinatown is selected by intersecting the dissemination areas with the actual Chinatown's boundaries. Due to the various size of dissemination areas, some downtown Chinatowns, such as Montreal and Calgary, contain fewer than five dissemination areas; while others, such as Toronto and Vancouver, contain more than ten dissemination areas.

Once the study areas are identified, the comparison of the demographics between the suburban Chinatowns and the downtown Chinatowns can be performed. The demographic data for the analysis include age, Chinese languages spoken by the residents, Chinese immigrants from

different origins, immigration types, university education attainment, median household income, employment and some interesting categories such as Chinese languages spoken at work, commuting destination, and occupations.

4.3.1 Toronto

As identified in the previous section, the key identifier of "Chinatown" is the extent of the ethnic Chinese population. As shown in table 9 (see appendix), the Chinese population in the downtown Chinatown is smaller than 3000, while that number in the suburban Chinatown is more than 140,000. This indicates that the suburban Chinatown acts like a "town" more than the downtown one because of the massive size of the Chinese population. Furthermore, around 44 percent of residents living in Markham are Chinese, while in the downtown Chinatown in Toronto that percentage was only around 37 percent in 2016. The downtown Chinatown used to have a percentage of 45% of its residents being Chinese in 2001 while that percentage in the suburban Chinatown is 38% in 2001. This finding shows that the downtown Chinatown is losing its status of being a Chinese-dominant ethnic settlement while the suburban Chinatown is gaining more Chinese residents.

In terms of age breakdown, there are more children and more elderly people in the suburban Chinatown while the downtown Chinatown shows a significant elderly population and a stronger working-age population. This finding indicates that more families are settling in the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown is experiencing an aging population.

For the Chinese languages, Cantonese is the most spoken language in Markham which shows a contrary to the fact that Mandarin is the most spoken Chinese language in the whole CMA. The potential cause of this difference could be due to the fact that there are multiple suburban Chinatowns in the CMA such as Richmond Hill and Vaughn. The other suburban Chinatowns can have potentially a higher percentage of Mandarin speakers since the demographics of the Chinese population in each suburban Chinatowns are different even for those in the same CMA. However, Mandarin is still widely spoken by many residents in the suburban Chinatowns. Interestingly, both Mandarin and Cantonese are spoken by the same number of people in the downtown Chinatown.

The table shows the number of Chinese immigrants from three origins, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Mainland China is the largest source of Chinese immigrants in both the

suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown. While immigrants from Hong Kong make up about 10 percent of the population in Markham, their presence is much lower (1.58 percent) in the downtown Chinatown. Both Chinatowns lack a significant presence of Taiwanese immigrants; there is even no presence of the immigrants from Taiwan in the downtown Chinatown. The immigration trend suggests that the downtown Chinatown and the suburban Chinatown both attract immigrants from Mainland China while the downtown Chinatown is less appealing for immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan.

In terms of immigration classifications, there are three main types defined by Statistics Canada (2016) – Economic immigrants, Sponsored immigrants, and Refugees. Economic immigrants include people who immigrated as skilled workers or as entrepreneurs or investors. Sponsored immigrants are people who immigrated through sponsorship by family. Refugees include protected people in Canada or resettled refugees. For the suburban Chinatown, economic immigrants are the largest classification; sponsored immigrants make up a significant portion of the total population; while refugees are less visible. In the downtown Chinatown, the proportion of economic immigrants is much less than in the suburban Chinatown; the percentage of refugees is a bit higher than in Markham, and the proportion of sponsored immigrants is similar. The strong presence of economic immigrants potentially increases the future level of sponsored immigrants as the economic immigrants are more likely to be able to afford the sponsorship for their family members.

Besides the primary demographic and immigration presented in table 9 (see appendix), the employment information of the two Chinatowns is summarized in table 10 (see appendix). The suburban Chinatown has a lower level of the employed population compared to that of the downtown Chinatown. This finding can be related to the higher percentage of children and elderly population in the suburban Chinatown. Although the level of the working population is lower in Markham, its median household income is much higher than that of the downtown Chinatown – the number almost doubled. The big income gap between the two Chinatowns suggests that the Chinese population living in downtown Chinatown might suffer from low-income issues.

In terms of Chinese languages spoken at work, there is around 10 percent of the employed population speak either Mandarin or Cantonese at work. In downtown Chinatown, the percentage is around 9 percent. More people are speaking Cantonese at work than the people speaking Mandarin at work; that situation corresponds to Markham having a higher percentage of Cantonese

speakers than that of Mandarin speakers. The linguistical status is reversed in the downtown Chinatown as more people are speaking mandarin at work than Cantonese. The significant number of people speaking Cantonese or Mandarin at work suggests that Chinese businesses and companies play an essential role in Markham's and downtown Chinatown's economy.

4.3.2 Vancouver

Much like the suburban Chinatown in Toronto CMA, the suburban Chinatown (Richmond) is home to a significant number of Chinese people. Over 100,000 Chinese people live in the city of Richmond; they make up over half of the total population in Richmond – the percentage is even higher than in Markham (45 percent). Meanwhile, the percentage of the Chinese population is only 21 percent in downtown Chinatown. Although that percentage shows that the Chinese population is still significant in the Chinatown, it seems that Richmond deserves the name "Chinatown" more than the downtown one (see table 11 in appendix).

In terms of age breakdown, Richmond has proportionately more children and elders than the downtown one has. However, the downtown Chinatown has a higher percentage of the work-age population than Richmond has. The age structures are very similar to Markham and Toronto's Chinatown and suggest that more families with children and more affluent families choose to settle in Richmond.

 For Chinese languages, the percentages of Mandarin and Cantonese speakers are both over 25 percent in Richmond. This finding suggests that Mandarin and Cantonese are both popular among the Chinese residents in the suburban Chinatown; Mandarin is slightly more popular than Cantonese. Compared to Richmond, in the downtown Chinatown, the number of Cantonese speakers is almost double that of the Mandarin speakers even though there are a significant number of immigrants from Mainland China. The stronger presence of Mandarin speakers in Richmond can be linked to a large number of immigrants from Mainland China who make up around 21 percent of the total population in Richmond. Although the number of immigrants from Mainland China is almost five times more than that of immigrants from Hong Kong, Cantonese speakers still outnumber Mandarin speakers in the downtown Chinatown due to the long history of the downtown Chinatown being an immigration hub for Cantonese speakers before the 1980s (Pottie-Sherman and Hiebert, 2015).

In Richmond, the number of economic immigrants is astonishing – around 36 percent of the total population. This means that Richmond attracts lots of skilled and educated workers, entrepreneurs and investors from around the world including China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. On the contrary, economic immigrants are only 14 percent of the total population in the downtown Chinatown, which as discussed above in the literature review has encountered a decline in the last decade; the lack of economic drive leads to the loss of attractiveness for economic immigrants. Interestingly, downtown Chinatown has a higher percentage of university education attainment than wealthy Richmond. This phenomenon may be a result of the fact that Richmond has higher percentages of children and elders, but more information is needed to investigate this matter.

With respect to economic factors, first, the downtown Chinatown has a higher employment rate than Richmond. However, this is also related to the proportions of children and elderly population in the two Chinatowns. Second, even though the downtown Chinatown has a higher employment rate, the median household income is much lower than that of Richmond (see table 12 in appendix). Lastly, Richmond has more people speaking either Mandarin or Cantonese at work, while there are few people doing so in the downtown Chinatown. This finding shows that Richmond has replaced the downtown Chinatown as the employment center for the Chinese population which has Chinese-owned businesses like Chinese restaurants, malls, and grocers, and provides services like pharmacies, law and financial services. These services and businesses used to cluster in the downtown Chinatown; however, as Richmond became the primary settlement for the Chinese population, many services in the downtown Chinatown either moved to Richmond or shut down. This process is similar to what Los Angeles' Chinatown experienced as the suburban Chinatown in San Gabriel Valley emerged (Li, 1997).

4.3.3 Montreal

Montreal does not have a large Chinese population compared to Toronto or Vancouver. Therefore, the size of the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown is much smaller than the previous two. Interestingly, the percentage of the Chinese population in the downtown Chinatown is twice as high as the suburban Chinatown. Although there is a new suburban Chinatown emerging in Brossard, the downtown Chinatown remains an essential heart of the Chinese community in downtown Montreal, in contrast to the situation in Toronto and Vancouver.

The age structure of Brossard is rather similar to what Richmond and Markham have – there are significant numbers of children and elders. However, in downtown Chinatown, the percentage of children is extremely low (only 5 percent), while the percentage of elders is significantly higher than in Brossard. Almost 30 percent of the total population in the downtown Chinatown is over 65 years of age – this shows a severely aging population issue for the downtown Chinatown.

The percentage of Mandarin or Cantonese speakers in Brossard is at a similar level to Richmond or Markham (see table 13 in appendix). However, the percentage of Mandarin and Cantonese speakers is much higher in the downtown Chinatown than that in Brossard. The strong presence of Mandarin and Cantonese speakers suggests that the downtown Chinatown is still the central cultural, social and immigration hub of the Chinese community in Montreal. Although the suburban Chinatown in Brossard has almost ten times more immigrants from Mainland China than the downtown Chinatown, the percentage of Mainland China immigrants is much higher in the downtown Chinatown. The potential explanation of this phenomenon could be that Mainland China is the primary source of Chinese immigrants in Montreal compared to Hong Kong or Taiwan; most of the immigrants choose to settle in Brossard, but many choose to stay in the downtown Chinatown due to its strong Chinese cultural and social environment, while Brossard just became a suburban Chinese settlement in recent years.

Unlike Richmond and Markham, Brossard has a lower percentage of economic immigrants than the downtown Chinatown. This finding means that Brossard does not attract an investor, entrepreneurs and skilled workers including the ones from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as the previous two suburban Chinatowns do. Interestingly, the percentage of sponsored immigrants in downtown Chinatown is almost double that of Brossard. This means that economic immigrants in the downtown Chinatown are more likely to sponsor their family member(s) to immigrate there. Additionally, the downtown Chinatown has a higher percentage of university education attainment than that of Brossard. This phenomenon is similar to what Vancouver has, but more information is needed to investigate this matter.

Employment information shows that downtown Chinatown has a much lower employment rate than Brossard. The low employment rate leads to the residents in the downtown Chinatown to have a lower median household income than the residents in Brossard have (see table 14 in appendix). Compared to Brossard, the downtown Chinatown has a higher percentage of people speaking

Chinese languages at work, which shows that the downtown Chinatown remains a strong commercial and employment hub for the Chinese community in the Montreal CMA, unlike the downtown Chinatown in Vancouver.

4.3.4 Calgary

The Chinese population is 21 percent of the suburban Chinatown in northern Calgary but 32 percent of the downtown Chinatown. Although both Chinatowns show a strong presence of the Chinese population, the downtown Chinatown remains the most significant Chinese settlement in downtown Calgary. The age structures suggest that the downtown Chinatown has a serious aging population issue while the suburban Chinatown has a much younger population, with around 20 percent of the total population being younger than 15 years old (see table 15 in appendix).

In terms of Chinese language speakers, the downtown Chinatown shows a strong presence of Cantonese speakers (nearly 24 percent of the total population); due to the lower percentage of the Chinese population in the suburban Chinatown, the level of Chinese languages speakers in the suburban Chinatown is lower than that of the downtown Chinatown.

The immigrants from Mainland China are still the predominant source of Chinese immigrants in Calgary's Chinatowns. The high level of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China suggests that, due to the history of the downtown Chinatown being the cultural, commercial and social center of the Chinese community in Calgary, the downtown Chinatown remains an attractive destination for the Chinese immigrants. Although the downtown Chinatown has around 15 percent of its residents being economic immigrants, there are more sponsored immigrants than economic immigrants. This finding suggests that immigrants in downtown Chinatown have bigger family sizes than those in the suburban Chinatown have.

Both the downtown Chinatown and the suburban Chinatown have similar employment rates (around 52 percent). Perhaps because of this high employment rate, the median household income of the residents in the downtown Chinatown is over $ 60,000, which is the highest among the selected CMAs (see table 16 in appendix). As for the usage of Chinese languages at work, the downtown Chinatown has a substantially larger percentage of people speaking Chinese languages at work. However, the overall low number of people speaking Chinese languages at work is possibly a sign of better integration of immigrants into Canadian society and workforce.

4.3.5 Edmonton

Based on the information in table 17 and 18 (see appendix), there are several findings of the demographics, immigration and employment for the suburban and downtown Chinatown in Edmonton CMA. First, both Chinatowns have a similar percentage of the Chinese population, around 17 percent. Second, the downtown Chinatown faces a serious aging population issue, with 17 percent of the total population over 65 years old, while the suburban Chinatown has only 11 percent. The suburban Chinatown also has a large number of children – around 20 percent of its total population.

Third, Mandarin and Cantonese speakers collectively make up 16 percent of the total population in each Chinatown, but there are more Mandarin speakers than Cantonese speakers in the suburban Chinatown while the situation is reversed in the downtown Chinatown. This finding fits the narrative of Cantonese-speaking Chinese established the downtown Chinatowns across Canada before the 1950s. Mandarin speakers came to Canada later in the 1980s, as the number of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China is on the rise.

Last, in terms of employment, the downtown Chinatown only has a 35 percent employment rate while the suburban Chinatown has near 54 percent. The low employment rate may lead to the downtown Chinatown having a low median household income of $33,000; the median household income in the suburban Chinatown is around $140,000 which is four times higher than that of the downtown Chinatown. Interestingly although the downtown Chinatown has 6 percent of its population speaking Mandarin, no one speaks Mandarin at work. The percentage of people speaking either Cantonese or Mandarin at work in the suburban Chinatown is also very low – each is lower than 1 percent. This may be a reflection of how well Chinese immigrants have integrated into the English-speaking environment, or it may be a reflection of the lack of Chinese businesses and employment opportunities for Mandarin/Cantonese speakers.

4.3.6 Ottawa

Based on the information in table 19 and 20 (see appendix), there are several findings of the demographics, immigration and employment for the suburban and downtown Chinatown in Ottawa CMA. First, both Chinatowns have the proportionately smallest Chinese population across all the Chinatowns in the select CMAs: 14 percent downtown and 11 percent in the suburban

Chinatown. Second, there are more Mandarin speakers than Cantonese speakers in both Chinatowns, but the percentage of Cantonese speakers is higher in the downtown Chinatown (around 7 percent compared to 2 percent in the suburban Chinatown). This indicates that the early development of the downtown Chinatown was associated with Cantonese-speaking immigrants, but the shift towards immigration from Mainland China starts to dominate both Chinatowns. Nearly 10 percent of residents in the downtown Chinatown and 5 percent of residents in the suburban Chinatown are immigrants from Mainland China, while the percentage of immigrants from Hong Kong is lower than 1 percent in both Chinatowns.

Third, in terms of employment, the downtown Chinatown has an employment rate of 47 percent while the suburban Chinatown has a slightly higher rate at 50 percent. The relatively high employment rate does not help the residents in downtown Chinatown having a higher median household income ($ 48409) than those in the suburban Chinatown ($ 112754). Last, not many people speak either Mandarin or Cantonese at work in the Chinatowns. This may be a reflection of how well Chinese immigrants have integrated into the English-speaking environment, or it may be a reflection of the lack of Chinese businesses and employment opportunities for the Mandarin/Cantonese speakers.

4.3.7 Summary

Based on the comparison between the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in the six CMAs, the findings suggest three different patterns. The first pattern is that when the suburban Chinatown reaches a significant size in terms of the number of the Chinese population, the downtown Chinatown is more likely to decline, potentially because the suburban Chinatown attracts more immigrants and local Chinese people to move there (see figure 8 and 12). The most striking examples are Richmond and Markham, where the Chinese population is the majority population, and the Chinese community has gotten so big that every service (cultural, social, commercial, medical, etc.) that exists in the downtown Chinatown can be found in the suburban Chinatown as well. In both Toronto and Vancouver, the downtown Chinatown used to be the central place where the Chinese-owned businesses and services were available to the Chinese community before the development of the suburban Chinatown, but now the suburban Chinatown is so well-developed that there are more and better Chinese-owed businesses and services than what the downtown Chinatown can offer. Additionally, the suburban Chinatown has more land

and cheaper development costs than the crowded downtown, which is plausibly also a factor causing business owners and investors to move their attention away from the downtown Chinatown.

The second pattern is that in the CMAs where the suburban Chinatown has just started to develop in recent years, the downtown Chinatown is still thriving (see figure 14 and 15). This is the case in Calgary and Montreal, where Chinese remain the majority ethnicity in the downtown Chinatown while the Chinese population is not (yet?) a majority in the suburban Chinatown. In these cases, although the suburban Chinatown is growing, it has not developed enough to threaten the central role of the downtown Chinatown in the Chinese community in terms of offering cultural, social, commercial and other services.

The third pattern is that in the CMAs where the Chinese population is not the majority in either the downtown Chinatown or in the suburban Chinatown, the development of the suburban Chinatown is still faster than the downtown one. The Chinatowns in Ottawa and Edmonton fit this development pattern. These downtown Chinatowns have not have developed as quickly as the downtown Chinatown in other CMAs; and, although these suburban Chinatowns are experiencing some growth, without the steady influx of Chinese immigrants especially from Mainland China, the growth rate of these suburban Chinatowns will not be as fast as those in other CMAs.

In conclusion, the analysis of the detailed demographic and employment data leads to several findings: (1) in Toronto CMA and Vancouver CMA, the suburban Chinatowns have a higher concentration of the Chinese population than the downtown Chinatowns; the situation is reversed in the other CMAs; (2) the suburban Chinatowns, in general, have a younger population than their downtown counterparts, with more families with children and potentially more younger immigrants in the suburban Chinatowns; (3) in Markham and Richmond, the suburban Chinatowns have a higher percentage of Chinese immigrants than the downtown Chinatowns; however, the immigration pattern is the opposite in other CMAs where the downtown Chinatowns still remain as an attractive destination for (new?) Chinese immigrants; (4) in terms of the Chinese languages speakers, the suburban Chinatowns in Markham and Richmond have higher percentages of Mandarin speakers and Cantonese speakers than those of the downtown Chinatowns while the concentrations of Mandarin speakers and Cantonese speakers of suburban Chinatowns in the other CMAs are on the contrary. However, the downtown Chinatowns in Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton,

and Ottawa CMA have higher percentages of the population speaking Mandarin or Cantonese at work than those in the suburban Chinatowns; and (5) the downtown Chinatowns in the selected CMAs generally have higher employment rates but much lower income compared to the suburban Chinatowns.

The comparative analysis in the chapter has revealed three development patterns of the suburban Chinatowns in the selected CMAs. The first pattern is represented by the suburban Chinatowns in Vancouver and Toronto. These suburban Chinatowns are already well-developed and are more likely to cause the decline of the downtown Chinatown by completing over commercial and human resources; the second one is represented by the suburban Chinatowns in Calgary and Montreal which are on the way to be well-established but are not developed enough to threaten the status of the downtown Chinatowns; the last pattern shows that the suburban Chinatowns in Edmonton and Ottawa are just starting to develop which the downtown Chinatowns are still the heart of the local Chinese community.
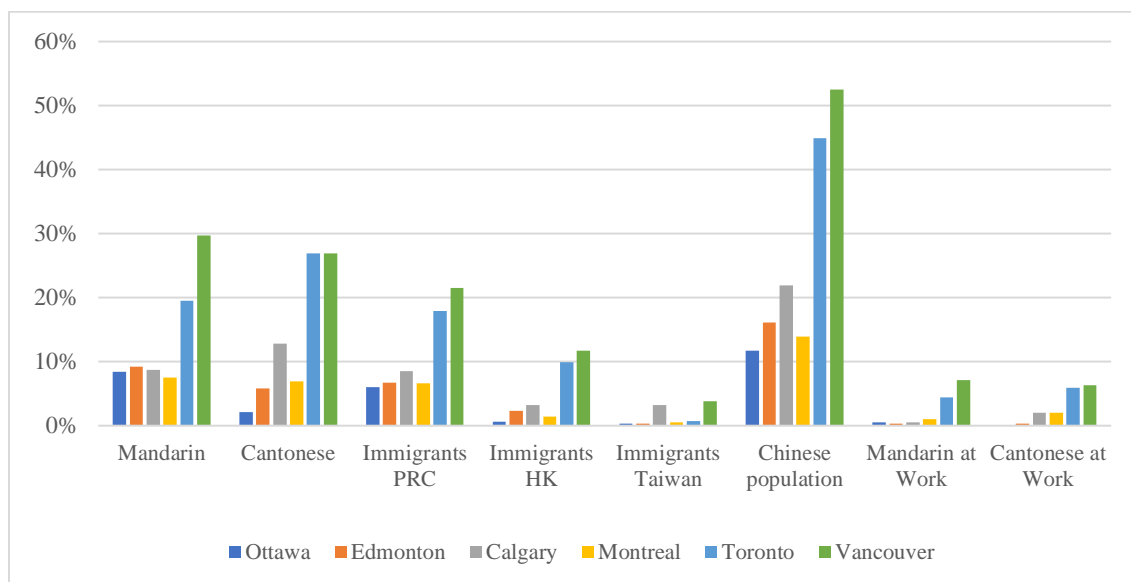


**Figure 14: Comparison of key characteristics of the suburban Chinatown in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**
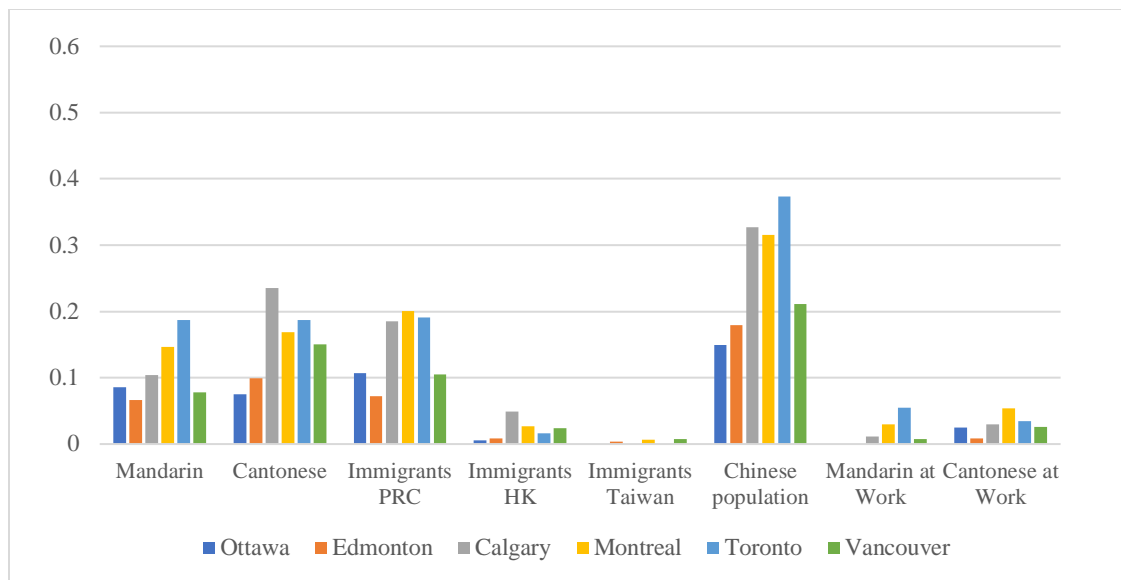
**Figure 15: Comparison of key characteristics of the downtown Chinatown in six CMAs. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

## 5.0 The impacts of Suburban Chinatown in Canada

5.1 Economic, political, social and cultural impacts

In this section, the economic, political, social and cultural impacts of the suburban Chinatowns in Canada are analyzed. The analysis is not limited to the suburban Chinatowns analyzed above – the selected suburban Chinatowns in this project are the most representative in their respective CMA, but some CMAs have more than just one suburban Chinatown. In order to conduct the most up-to-date analysis, this section is based on recent news articles published by credible national or local news publication agencies. In this chapter, the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns are identified.

 The suburban Chinatowns attract more Chinese immigrants compared to the downtown Chinatowns, which ultimately leads to the decline of the downtown Chinatowns in some CMAs. Issues such as racial segregation, racism, and discrimination are appearing. The "language barrier," Chinese-only signs and a large number of Chinese immigrants have caused outcries in the local community in these suburban Chinatowns. Suburban Chinatown has undoubtedly changed the political environment and legislation in some CMAs as well. These impacts are useful for planners to understand the future development of suburban Chinatowns.

The most prominent impact of suburban Chinatown is on the people: a large number of Chinese immigrants settle in the suburbs around the large metropolitan areas in Canada every year. The development of suburban Chinatowns has changed the local commercial environment. For example, Hopper (2012) mentions that there are Asian malls, stores, restaurants all over the city of Richmond which is known as the representation of suburban Chinatown in Canada. Ansari (2018) suggests that in Markham, the rise of groceries, clothing stores, spas, tea shops primarily serving the Chinese community is on the rise. However, the thriving of suburban Chinatowns seems to have come at the expense of downtown Chinatowns. Quan (2017) suggests that the growth of Asian groceries, and other services in the suburbs have caused the downtown Chinatown to decline in Vancouver. Bula (2017) indicates that the rise of wealthy suburban Chinatowns has created challenges and pressure to the downtown Chinatowns to keep up. Bula also mentions that although downtown Chinatowns are declining, they still often function as the early landing destination for new immigrants. However, newcomers usually move out to the suburban Chinatowns within a few years.

Another social impact of suburban Chinatowns relates to education. Apart from the massive number of Chinese international students coming to Canada for university and other post-secondary education every year, the number of Chinese students coming to Canada for elementary, middle, and high schools is increasing rapidly. "District nets $7 million from international students" (2017) suggests that international students account for 5 percent of the total students in Richmond's school district, and most of them are from China. The same situation can be found in Coquitlam, BC. The city's district has seen an increase of 25 percent in the number of international students from China in 2016 (Vanderklippe, 2017). As a result, the school district in the suburban Chinatowns benefits financially from the increasing number of Chinese students. In Richmond, the school district gained a net revenue of $7 million in 2016 (Richmond News, 2017). Coquitlam's school district benefits $17 million from international students from China each year. Another economic impact of the suburban Chinatown is that Chinese investors are buying properties in suburban Chinatowns, which leads to rapid increases in real estate values. Tomkinson (2018) suggests that wealthy Chinese buyers have caused the real estate prices in Vancouver and Toronto metropolitan areas to increase; the Chinese buyers have moved their attention to Montreal's wealthy suburbs in the West Island. Ansari (2018) also suggests that many affluent Chinese buyers

purchased properties in Richmond, but they barely stay there, instead of spending their time back in China.

A large number of Chinese immigrants also raises social and cultural issues in suburban Chinatowns. Issues such as racial segregation, racism, and discrimination are popping up. Ansari (2018) argues that although Chinese are the largest ethnic group in Markham, the dream of achieving racial integration is far from realized. Ansari suggests that Chinese immigrants tend to isolate themselves from communicating with residents of other races in suburban Chinatown. Contenta and Rankin (2012) also suggest that Chinese immigrants in Markham do not integrate into Canadian society very well. Quan (2018) reports that newcomers from China are not blending in the local community very well in Richmond as well. They all identify language as the key factor keeping for how new Chinese immigrants integrate into the local community in these suburban Chinatown. They explain that newcomers from China do not need to speak English to live in the well-established suburban Chinatowns, because there are services available in Cantonese and Mandarin, there are Chinese signs everywhere, and many residents speak Cantonese or Mandarin. Therefore, knowing English is not a requirement to live in these suburban Chinatowns anymore. Contenta and Rankin (2012) and Quan (2018) suggest that many places in the Markham or Richmond only offer services in either Cantonese or Mandarin. This has created a "language barrier" for the residents belonging to other ethnocultural communities.

The "language barrier," Chinese-only signs and a large number of Chinese immigrants have caused outcries in the local community in these suburban Chinatowns. Racist comments and flyers appeared in Richmond. According to Quan (2018), the city clerks in Richmond received dozens of discriminatory complaints towards Chinese residents – they claim that Asians have occupied the city. Quan further suggests that some residents who have been living in Richmond since the 1960s have seen the Asian taking over the city and are upset about such transformation. Pawson (2016) states that some flyers contain racist and offensive messages were distributed in Richmond in 2016. Judd (2018) states that a Chinese realtor in Coquitlam, BC received a racist letter claiming that the realtor was bringing in rich Chinese buyers who have "invaded, infested and defaced Vancouver with their presence, systematically spreading uninvited into its neighboring cities."

Suburban Chinatown has undoubtedly changed the political environment in many cities. The city of Edmonton has published a revitalization plan for its downtown Chinatown because the city has

acknowledged the challenges that the historic downtown Chinatowns are facing in competing with the uprising suburban Chinatowns (AECOM, 2015). In many cities, for example in Markham and Richmond, many city councilors are Chinese-descent. The councilors understand the importance of the support from the Chinese population; many of them would campaign targeting them. Ansari (2018) suggests that during the municipal election in Markham in 2017, some candidates even campaign only in Cantonese or Mandarin to accommodate Chinese residents who do not speak English. Quan (2018) suggests that, during the municipal election in Richmond, certain candidates were lobbying residents to vote only for Chinese candidates.

Chinese-only signs in the suburban Chinatowns have also affected local legislation. In 2018, in response to public outcry on the prevalence of Chinese-only signs around the city, the city of Richmond changed its bylaw on signage to require these signs to be at least 50 percent English or French. The city staff is instructed to encourage and educate the businesses who are using the Chinese-only signs to add English on them (Correia, 2018; McElroy, 2017).

In summary, the impacts of suburban Chinatowns are identified. The suburban Chinatowns attract more Chinese immigrants compared to the downtown Chinatowns which ultimately leads to the decline of the downtown Chinatowns in some CMAs. Issues such as racial segregation, racism, and discrimination are appearing. The "language barrier," and a large number of Chinese immigrants have caused outcries in the local community in these suburban Chinatowns. Suburban Chinatown has undoubtedly changed the political environment and legislation in some CMAs as well. These impacts are valuable for planners to understand the current status of the suburban Chinatowns and plan the future development of the suburban Chinatowns.

5.2 Planning Implications

The analysis of the impacts of the suburban Chinatowns has left room for discussion for future planning. In the Chapter, several planning implications are made based on the issues that are raised in the previous analysis.

I think that the planners should encourage the suburban Chinatowns but also introduce policies – as detailed below – to limit the negative impacts of the development of the suburban Chinatowns. The suburban Chinatowns, in the urban development sense, reflect that Canada is a multi-cultural, democratic and progressive country and they bring significant economic benefits to the local

society. The policies are encouraging better integration into Canadian society, stimulating local economic growth, promoting multi-culturalism, and reducing cultural, social, and language barriers.

In general, the suburban Chinatowns bring significant economic benefits to the local society such as the contribution to local schools, stimulating the local economy by opening shops, restaurants, and other services, and investing in real estate. The local government can benefit from more tax revenue including sale taxes, property taxes, and corporate taxes from the local Chinese residents and the new immigrants. However, the economic benefits also come with some negative impacts such as the foreigner buyers driving up real estate values, the Chinese businesses in suburban Chinatowns competing with the existing businesses in downtown Chinatowns, and the international students compete for educational resources against the local students.

In terms of controlling the number of foreign buyers of real estate, many provincial governments in Canada, notably in British Columbia and Ontario have implemented policies and regulations to limit the number of foreign property buyers. But the local government can also propose higher tax rates for foreign buyers. Vancouver already implemented an additional tax of 15% for foreign buyers (Kassam, 2016). For the CMAs that have not experienced the big influx of foreign buyers in the suburban Chinatowns, it is necessary to propose higher tax rate on the foreign home buyers to maintain a healthy and steady real estate market for the local residents who are willing to purchase new homes.

Although international students are competing against the local students for education resources, they also provide the local schools' significant revenues. Among the international students, Chinese students are the majority; and many of them live in suburban Chinatowns such as Markham or Richmond. I think that instead of regulating to limit the number of international students, it is better to encourage schools to admit more international students. Other than paying much higher tuitions, the international students are paying taxes rather than using government services since they usually do not have permanent residency or citizenship of Canada. Additionally, the international students are easier to integrate into Canadian society – they speak at least one of the official languages, and they are exposed to the Canadian culture and society at a younger age.

The emergence of Chinese businesses, stores, and services in the suburban Chinatowns has created challenges for their counterpart in the downtown Chinatowns across Canada. Although the decline

of downtown Chinatowns is associated with more than just the competition in the market, social and political influences also play an essential role when it comes to attract new businesses or keep the existing ones. The local government provides economic incentives such as tax reduction to encourage existing businesses to stay or to attract new businesses in the downtown Chinatowns. Additionally, the downtown Chinatowns are, in general, older, more compact, and less visually appealing compared to the suburban Chinatowns. Therefore, renovation to the façade of the downtown Chinatowns can potentially increase the competitiveness of attracting more visitors and perhaps new businesses. The local government also needs to protect the old tenants in the downtown Chinatowns from the potential gentrification after the renovation by regulating the rent at an affordable level and protecting them from evictions.

Other than the economic issues that the suburban Chinatowns have raised, there are several social issues associated with them. For instance, many new Chinese immigrants in suburban Chinatowns have language barrier due to the high percentage of Chinese speakers in the suburban Chinatowns; and they are less likely to integrate to Canadian society as well due to the language barrier and cultural differences between China's and Canada's. In order to address these issues, planners at the local government can offer social programs to the Chinese residents in the suburban Chinatowns to encourage better integration into Canadian society, promoting multi-culturalism, and reducing cultural, social, and language barriers.

In order to promote multi-culturalism and attract more non-Chinese residents in the suburban Chinatowns, the local government can offer incentives to prospective residents of other ethnicities such as tax reduction on opening ethnic businesses and purchasing housing or rent reduction, and tuition reduction on local schools. The government can also create interethnic commercial and public spaces, offer interethnic community activities, for example, multi-ethnic food market, music festivals.

In order to encourage better integration into Canadian society, and reduce cultural, social, and language barriers, the local government can offer educational and social programs that encourage the Chinese residents to interact with the residents of other ethnicities; free or affordable language schools can also be offered to the residents in the suburban Chinatowns; education programs that teach the newcomers the local customs, and laws and regulations in Canada so that the new

immigrants are more informed with the local society and are prepared to be integrated into the society.

In summary, the suburban Chinatowns should be encouraged in general because they are a sign of Canada being a multi-cultural, democratic and progressive country and bring significant economic benefits to the local government.

The planning implications respond to the issues related to the suburban Chinatown are proposed in this chapter. To address the economic issues, several strategies are suggested - increasing tax for foreign home buyers to reduce the impacts of these buyers driving up the real estate values; renovating the downtown Chinatowns to increase the attractiveness of these neighborhoods and the competitiveness of the Chinese businesses; and encouraging more Chinese international students to support the local school systems and attract these international students to be prospective immigrants. In response to social issues, several suggestions are made - the local government can offer incentives to prospective residents of other ethnicities such as tax reduction, rent reduction, and tuition reduction on local schools; the government can also create interethnic commercial and public spaces, offer interethnic community activities, for example, multi-ethnic food market, music festivals; the government can offer educational and social programs that encourage the Chinese residents to interact with the residents of other ethnicities; free or affordable language schools can also be offered to the residents in the suburban Chinatowns; education programs that teach the newcomers the local customs, and laws and regulations in Canada so that the new immigrants are more informed with the local society and are prepared to be integrated into the society.

I hope that more suburban Chinatowns continue to emerge and the existing ones continue to thrive and celebrate multi-culturalism in Canada by implementing these planning suggestions.

**6.0 Conclusion**

In this project, I explored the following questions: what is suburban Chinatown? Where are suburban Chinatowns located in Canada? What are suburban Chinatowns like? What are the impacts of suburban Chinatowns on the local economy, society, and politics?

Suburban Chinatown is where a suburb has a large number of Chinese populations – usually at least 10 percent of the total population in the area. Suburban Chinatowns first emerged in the United States, as the San Gabriel Valley is the first suburban Chinatown in North America.

In Canada, suburban Chinatowns are mainly located near large metropolitan areas. This project examined the six most populous CMAs. Suburban Chinatowns are located in Scarborough, and the York Region (Markham, Vaughn and Richmond Hill) in the Toronto CMA; Saint Laurent borough and Brossard in the Montreal CMA; Richmond, Burnaby, and Surrey in the Vancouver CMA; Huntley Township in the Ottawa CMA; parts of Ward 7 and Ward 9 in the Edmonton CMA; and Ward 4 in the Calgary CMA.

There are three patterns of development for suburban Chinatowns in the CMAs. Richmond and Markham represent the first one – the suburban Chinatown is large and thriving, and the downtown Chinatown is declining. The second one is represented by Brossard and the suburban Chinatown in Calgary – the suburban Chinatown is developing, and the downtown Chinatown remains strong. The suburban Chinatown represents the last one in Edmonton and Ottawa – the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown are both not as well-developed as in the other cases.

The impacts of suburban Chinatowns can be categorized into four aspects. The economic impacts of the suburban Chinatowns are the rise of Chinese commercial activities in the suburbs, but also the decline of downtown Chinatowns; the rapid increase of real estate prices in the suburban Chinatowns due to large numbers of Chinese buyers; and education revenues for local school board from Chinese international students. In terms of the social and cultural impacts of suburban Chinatowns, the spread of Cantonese and Mandarin, poor integration into the local community, social segregation, and racism appear to be the most prominent impacts. The political impacts of the suburban Chinatowns are mainly around city councilors targeting Chinese residents for votes and Richmond changing its bylaw around non-English signage.

In conclusion, suburban Chinatowns in Canada are thriving. The growth potential of suburban Chinatowns is substantial in many metropolitan areas such as Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa. Suburban Chinatowns will continue to play an essential role in Canada's immigration as attractive destinations for future Chinese immigrants.

**7.0 Appendix**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown (% over total Population) | Downtown Chinatown (% over total Population) |
|---|---|---|
| Chinese Population | 147710 | 2835 |
| % of Chinese Population | 44.90% | 37.30% |
| Aged 0-14 | 16.85% | 8.22% |
| Aged 15-64 | 67.98% | 77.56% |
| Aged 65 and above | 15.19% | 14.34% |
| Mandarin Speakers | 19.56% | 18.75% |
| Cantonese Speaker | 26.94% | 18.75% |
| Immigrants from Mainland China | 17.95% | 19.14% |
| Immigrants from Hong Kong | 9.90% | 1.58% |
| Immigrants from Taiwan | 0.71% | 0.00% |
| Sponsored Immigrants | 16.14% | 14.47% |
| Economic Immigrants | 26.53% | 10.92% |
| University Attainment | 24.11% | 23.02% |

Table 9: Demographic and immigration information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Toronto CMA in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown | Downtown Chinatown |
|---|---|---|
| Employed Rate | 48.51% | 53.15% |
| Median Household Income | $ 99,839.82 | $ 44,163.93 |
| Mandarin spoken at work | 4.46% | 5.45% |
| Cantonese spoken at work | 5.96% | 3.47% |

Table 10: Employment information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Toronto CMA in 2016. Source: Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown (% over total Population) | Downtown Chinatown (% over total Population) |
|---|---|---|
| Chinese Population | 104190 | 2780 |
| % of Chinese Population | 52.54% | 21.17% |
| Aged 0-14 | 13.73% | 6.66% |
| Aged 15-64 | 69.29% | 78.89% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Aged 65 and above** | 16.97% | 14.54% |
| **Mandarin Speakers** | 29.67% | 7.81% |
| **Cantonese Speaker** | 26.87% | 15.00% |
| **Immigrants from Mainland China** | 21.53% | 10.47% |
| **Immigrants from Hong Kong** | 11.68% | 2.36% |
| **Immigrants from Taiwan** | 3.80% | 0.76% |
| **Sponsored Immigrants** | 12.33% | 10.39% |
| **Economic Immigrants** | 36.27% | 14.09% |
| **University Attainment** | 21.68% | 28.37% |

**Table 11: Demographic and immigration information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Vancouver CMA in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown | Downtown Chinatown |
|---|---|---|
| **Employed Rate** | 48.74% | 51.55% |
| **Median Household Income** | $ 74969.51 | $ 39008.84 |
| **Mandarin spoken at work** | 7.14% | 0.74% |
| **Cantonese spoken at work** | 6.33% | 2.58% |

**Table 12: Employment information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Vancouver CMA in 2016. Source: Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown (% over total Population) | Downtown Chinatown (% over total Population) |
|---|---|---|
| **Chinese Population** | 11955 | 1000 |
| **% of Chinese Population** | 13.95% | 31.56% |
| **Aged 0-14** | 16.20% | 5.52% |
| **Aged 15-64** | 63.82% | 65.16% |
| **Aged 65 and above** | 19.97% | 29.35% |
| **Mandarin Speakers** | 7.48% | 14.67% |
| **Cantonese Speaker** | 6.94% | 16.88% |
| **Immigrants from Mainland China** | 6.59% | 20.04% |
| **Immigrants from Hong Kong** | 1.45% | 2.68% |
| **Immigrants from Taiwan** | 0.52% | 0.63% |
| **Sponsored Immigrants** | 7.51% | 14.36% |
| **Economic Immigrants** | 18.17% | 19.41% |
| **University Attainment** | 20.68% | 27.30% |

**Table 13: Demographic and immigration information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Montreal CMA in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown | Downtown Chinatown |
|---|---|---|
| **Employed Rate** | 47.61% | 38.34% |
| **Median Household Income** | $ 77,962.32 | $ 36,176.00 |
| **Mandarin spoken at work** | 1.05% | 2.96% |
| **Cantonese spoken at work** | 2.00% | 5.35% |

**Table 14: Employment information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Montreal CMA in 2016. Source: Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown (% over total Population) | Downtown Chinatown (% over total Population) |
|---|---|---|
| **Chinese Population** | 25475 | 1070 |
| **% of Chinese Population** | 21.87% | 32.74% |
| **Aged 0-14** | 20.74% | 4.59% |
| **Aged 15-64** | 70.37% | 68.54% |
| **Aged 65 and above** | 8.87% | 26.93% |
| **Mandarin Speakers** | 8.74% | 10.40% |
| **Cantonese Speaker** | 12.81% | 23.56% |
| **Immigrants from Mainland China** | 8.56% | 18.51% |
| **Immigrants from Hong Kong** | 3.22% | 4.90% |
| **Immigrants from Taiwan** | 3.22% | 0.00% |
| **Sponsored Immigrants** | 9.84% | 17.14% |
| **Economic Immigrants** | 21.74% | 15.45% |
| **University Attainment** | 25.17% | 32.44% |

**Table 15: Demographic and immigration information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Calgary CMA in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown | Downtown Chinatown |
|---|---|---|
| Employed Population | 52.24% | 52.02% |
| Median Household Income | $ 124718 | $ 60704 |
| Mandarin spoken at work | 0.56% | 1.18% |
| Cantonese spoken at work | 2.01% | 2.94% |

Table 16: Employment information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Calgary CMA in 2016. Source: Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown (% over total Population) | Downtown Chinatown (% over total Population) |
|---|---|---|
| Chinese Population | 11435 | 660 |
| % of Chinese Population | 16.08% | 17.93% |
| Aged 0-14 | 20.05% | 4.07% |
| Aged 15-64 | 68.73% | 77.83% |
| Aged 65 and above | 11.21% | 17.79% |
| Mandarin Speakers | 9.21% | 6.66% |
| Cantonese Speaker | 5.84% | 9.92% |
| Immigrants from Mainland China | 6.74% | 7.20% |
| Immigrants from Hong Kong | 2.31% | 0.81% |
| Immigrants from Taiwan | 0.27% | 0.41% |
| Sponsored Immigrants | 6.71% | 11.00% |
| Economic Immigrants | 19.97% | 7.06% |
| University Attainment | 29.78% | 14.53% |

Table 17: Demographic and immigration information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Edmonton CMA in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown | Downtown Chinatown |
|---|---|---|
| Employed Population | 53.77% | 33.41% |
| Median Household Income | $ 142220 | $ 33592.83 |
| Mandarin spoken at work | 0.35% | 0.00% |
| Cantonese spoken at work | 0.27% | 0.81% |

Table 18: Employment information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Edmonton CMA in 2016. Source: Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown (% over total Population) | Downtown Chinatown (% over total Population) |
|---|---|---|
| **Chinese Population** | 6420 | 375 |
| **% of Chinese Population** | 11.73% | 14.90% |
| **Aged 0-14** | 20.47% | 8.74% |
| **Aged 15-64** | 65.71% | 68.36% |
| **Aged 65 and above** | 13.89% | 22.66% |
| **Mandarin Speakers** | 8.44% | 8.55% |
| **Cantonese Speaker** | 2.16% | 7.55% |
| **Immigrants from Mainland China** | 5.99% | 10.73% |
| **Immigrants from Hong Kong** | 0.66% | 0.60% |
| **Immigrants from Taiwan** | 0.31% | 0.00% |
| **Sponsored Immigrants** | 6.70% | 13.51% |
| **Economic Immigrants** | 14.69% | 5.37% |
| **University Attainment** | 28.17% | 28.42% |

**Table 19: Demographic and immigration information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Ottawa CMA in 2016. Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

| Categories | Suburban Chinatown | Downtown Chinatown |
|---|---|---|
| **Employed Population** | 50.80% | 47.30% |
| **Median Household Income** | $ 112754 | $ 48409.6 |
| **Mandarin spoken at work** | 0.49% | 0.00% |
| **Cantonese spoken at work** | 0.04% | 2.52% |

**Table 20: Employment information of the Chinese population for the suburban Chinatown and the downtown Chinatown in Ottawa CMA in 2016. Source: Source: Canadian Census 2016, Statistics Canada.**

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